1633

SEMEDO, Alvare

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The true Effigies of J. F. Aluarez Semedo
Procurator of ye Prouinces of Japan & China
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THE HISTORY
OF
That Great and Renowned
MONARCHY
OF
CHINA.

VVherein all the particular Provinces are accurately deſcribed: as alſo the Diſpoſitions, Manners, Learning, Lawes, Militia, Government, and Religion of the People.

Together with the Traffick and Commodities of that Countrey.

Lately written in *Italian* by F. ALVAREZ SEMEDO, a *Portugheſs*, after he had reſided twenty two yeares at the Court, and other Famous Cities of that Kingdom.

Now put into *Engliſh* by a Perſon of quality, and illuſtrated with ſeveral MAPPS and FIGURES, to ſatisfie the curious, and advance the Trade of Great *BRITTAIN*.

To which is added the Hiſtory of the late Invaſion, and Conqueſt of that flouriſhing Kingdom by the TARTARS.

With an exact Account of the other affairs of *CHINA*, till theſe preſent Times.

LONDON,
Printed by *E. Tyler* for *Iohn Crook*, and are to be ſold at his Shop at the Sign of the Ship in S. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1655.

The Epistle to the Reader.

Courteous Reader,

I *Present thee with that long expected, most exact History of the Lawes, Government, Manners, and present state and condition of that great Monarchy of* China; *in its circuit little less then all Europe, Heretofore (as zealous of its rare treasures) shut and locked up from the curious eyes of strangers: so that this booke (first) yeilds to thee a full discovery thereof. & (I dare say) the most valuable, that this our world hath been acquainted with, since that of America; whereby now the furthest East, as well as West, is disclosed, and laid open to the present age. For, as for some former relations, thou mayst have seen thereof, thou wilt by this discerne them to be as fabulous, as they are compendious and imperfect.*

It was written by one, who, after, first, a strict education in all sorts of learning, for two and twenty yeares space lived in that Kingdome, was resident at the Court, and in the greatest Cities thereof: and in all that time

(as designing such a worke) was a diligent Observator and Collector of all their manners and customs; as likewise (after much paines taken in the Language) a great student of their Histories, and Writings. Whose laborious worke, after it had already bin clothed in many other Languages, besides the Authors, and welcomly entertained in most states of Europe, it was thought fit no longer to be concealed to a Nation, either for curiosity of knowledge, or industry of forraigne commerce, no way yeilding to her neighbours.

The variety of the subjects handled therein is so great (as comprehending the whole fabricke of that nations: their Politicks, Oeconomicks, Sciences, Mechanicks, Riches, Merchandise, &c.) that those of whatsoever profession, may reap no small benefit in reading the designes, managements and practices therein, of so ingenious a People. Whose manners also (as their site) are so remote and different in most things from ours, that (I may say) in this piece is happily united, with the truth of History, the delight of a Romance: where it will be no small pleasure to thee to see their braines, as well as their bodies, as it were of a severall mould from the Europeans, and their inventions in many things, to walke antipodes to us, and yet in these no way below us, but in many superiour; or what in them appears less compleat, yet will the knowledge thereof not be ungratefull unto thee, because tis new and singular. As for many morall vertues, thou wilt find them so far to transcend us therein, that they may be proposed as an excellent patterne, (as also they are a shame) to Christian states. Lastly, to correct and reforme any their defects, and

make

make the nation perfectly happy, the light of Christianity hath of late visited this people, who sate in darknes: so that now (after America also enlightned) there is no end of the world left, wherinto the sound of the Gospel is not gone forth. The foundation of which being (there) already laid, there is great hopes that it may sooner come to a ful purity, reformation & perfection, & the indefatigable pains & undaunted courage of those laborers who cultivate it in the East, provoke a greater diligence and emulation therein, in our planters in the West; where the Gospel (as following a conquest) may be advanced both with much more safety and authority.

To the end of this Treatise, I have added the History of the Tartarian invasian of China, much enlarged & freed from divers Erratas of the former Edition; which gives thee an account of the Chinesse affaires till the yeare 1653. (Reader, thus much I thought good to advertise thee in the front of this Booke, that thou mayst not be so great an hinderance to thy selfe, as not to be acquainted with so curious and beneficiall a discourse. Farewell.)

The

The Preface.

WHo writeth of things farre remote, doth almoſt alwayes incurre the inconvenience of many, and thoſe no ſmall defects: hence it is, that we ſee many Books, whoſe Authours, for their perſonal Qualities, might deſerve more credit than may juſtly be given to their writings. As for thoſe, who have written of *China*, I have peruſed ſome of them, who leaving in oblivion almoſt all Truths, take the liberty to wander in diſcourſes altogether fabulous: for this Kingdome being ſo remote, and having alwayes with much Care avoided all Communication with Strangers, reſerving onely to themſelvs the knowledge of their own Affairs, with a moſt particular Caution: hence it followes, that nothing is knowne without the Confines thereof, but what doth, as it were, overflow into the skirts of the Country of *Cantone*, (a part of this Empire, whither the Portugheſes have been ſuffered to come) ſo that the moſt internall and ſecret knowledge thereof hath been reſerved, either for the Natives of the Country, who know well enough how to conceale it; or for thoſe, who, upon a better Motive, have, to diſcover it, little leſſe then forgotten their own nature, their language, their cuſtomes, and manner of living, and transformed themſelves into the naturall humour of that Country.

Now this laſt hath by divine diſpenſation, fallen to the lott of

of the Religious of the Company of *Jesus*; who although they came late to the Culture of the Church, are, notwithstanding, arrived to that honour to be reckoned among the first, that after Saint Thomas the Apostle, did cultivate those remote Confines of the world.

It is now fifty eight years, that they have laboured under this so distant Climate, where directing all their force and endeavours, to the conversion of Souls, they account it a manifest Theft, to employ any otherwise that time which they owe to the Service of God, and is of so much importance for the Eternall Salvation of men. Hence it is, that never any yet did, or would it have been permitted him, if he had desired it, to employ himselfe in writing the Relation of this Kingdome; except it were Father *Nicolaus Trigalzius*, after he had by permission with-drawn himself from the culture of Christianity among the *Chineses*, and passed from thence into *Europe*.

Vpon the same occasion I have undertaken to give a briefe account thereof, sufficient at least for the instruction of those, who desire to be informed concerning those parts: forbearing to make a more large discourse at the present; but reserving it for another time; which may be, when wee shall returne to that vast Country, with new Labourers in so great a number, that some of the greatest Authority and Experience among us, may find leisure and convenience to undertake a perfect Relation.

In the mean time, abbreviating, as much as 'tis possible, this Information, without rendring that knowledge confused, which wee pretend to gratify the world with, we shall divide the work into two parts. The first containeth the materiall part of the Kingdome; that is, the Provinces, Land, and Fruits; and in a manner, the formal part too; that is, the people, their learning, and customes. The second, the Beginning of Christianity there, the progresse thereof, the persecutions suffered therein; and finally the condition, wherein I left it, at my departure thence. I hope this worke shall gain some esteem and credit, if not for the greatnesse of the Appearance, at least for the certainty of the reality of it; having

taken

taken what I write, from the infallible Teſtimony of mine eyes; which though they may not be of the quickeſt ſighted, yet have had the advantage to reiterate very often their ſpeculations. And if he which viewеth for a long time, although his ſight be not of the beſt, doth commonly ſee more, then he who looketh in haſte, be his eyes never ſo good: I, who, for the ſpace of two and twenty years, have had the opportunity to obſerve all Paſſages of *China*, have certainly ſeen ſo much what *I* write, and what others have written, who have not ſeen them ſo well, that *I* muſt neceſſarily ſpeak of them with more Certainty then they, although with leſſe Eloquence.

THE

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THE FIRST PART
Of the Temporall State of
CHINA.

CHAP. I.
Of the Kingdom in Generall.

China in its extent is one great continued Continent, without having any thing which devides it: and taking it from the latitude of *Haynam* (which is not farre distant from the Continent, and lyeth in nineteen degrees) it extends it self twenty foure degrees, inclining towards the East; and ending in fourty three degrees, it comes to make a circuite so much the more spacious, by how much the coasts thereof run along in various and unequall windings; and so comes to be the chiefest kingdome of the world in greatnesse, and almost equall to all Europe. On the west side thereof are many small Islands, but so neere together, that they seem all to Compose but, as it were, one body.

All this Monarchy is divided into fifteen Provinces; each of which is a spacious Kingdome, and so they were all anciently; each having a King of its own. Of those nine, which they call the Southern Provinces, the greatest part of them are watered with large rivers, and some of those, having so great plenty of water, that in many places the opposite banks are out of sight, one of the other; and elsewhere, that which appeareth, is hardly to be distinguished what it is. They are all navigable, and are frequented with so a great concourse of divers sorts of vessels, that what might be said upon this occasion, will hardly seem credible: I shall onely

ſay, that in this, they do exceed all other rivers of the world. In an Arme of the river of *Nanchim*, which with a moderate breadth runneth down to *Hamchen*, I ſtayed eight dayes for a paſſage through that vvonderful concourſe of veſſels: and whileſt an houre-glaſſe of ſand was running out, I counted three hundred ſmall ſhips, reckoning only thoſe which came up the river. It is a marvellous thing, there being ſo many, that all are ſo vvell accommodated for Merchandize, and ſo convenient for paſſengers; They are all covered and kept very neat, and ſome of them ſo beautified and adorned with pictures, that they ſeem rather made for the recreation, than the traffick of Merchants.

The manner, after which they are governd is very notable: for the Marriners keep all without the place, where the paſſengers make their abode, there being ſpace enough without for them to run up and down, that trim the Sayles and guide the Bark, without any diſturbance of the others, who enjoy a pleaſant eaſe and reſt. In which the Barks of the pr ovince of *Hanceo* exceed the reſt.

The ſix Northern provinces, as they come neareſt to our latitude, do moſt reſemble our climate, and are more dry and healthfull than the reſt. But in all of them (more or leſſe) there are not wanting many of a long and happy life; there being to be found many, and very vigorous and luſty old men.

Of the ſame more particularly.

This Kingdom is ſo populous, that not only the Villages, but even the Cities are in ſight one of another; and in ſome places, where the rivers are moſt frequented, the habitations are almoſt continued. Of theſe there are foure ſorts; great Cities which they call *Fu*: the leſſer, which they call *Ceu*, (concerning theſe, Writers have ſomewhat differed in their Relations:) Townes, which they call *Xim*; and Caſtles, which they call *Cid*. Beſides theſe, there are Villages and Hamlets almoſt innumerable. Of all theſe the Walls are kept night and day with a four-fold Guard at the ſound of a Bell, even to the innermoſt City of the Kingdom, as if they were alwayes in a condition of Warre: ſhewing, that to prevent the leaſt imaginable danger, which may fal out in an houre; it is good to ſtand, during life, upon our guard: for ordinarily all ſudden ruines proceed from a long confidence. The ſtreets are kept by Courts of Guard and Sentinels, with ſo much rigour, that if they find them aſleep, or ſtragled from their Poſt, or that they do not ſpeedily anſwer, they are preſently condemned to the *Baſtinado*, which is immediately executed in the ſame place. The publick gates are ſhut every night with great care, and if there fall out any accident, they are not opened, til they are ſatisfied, how the Fact was done. In the year one thouſand ſix hundred thirty four, I was in the City of *Kiamſi*, where thirty theeves broke priſon, and having routed the guards, wounding ſome and killing others, ſet themſelvs at liberty. The Fact was known; and the opening of the gates being ſuſpended according to their inviolable cuſtome, before next night the Malefactors were all taken, nor could the greatneſſe of the City hide any one of them.

This

This Kingdom is ſo exceeding populous, that I having lived there two and twenty years, was in no leſſe amazement at my coming away, than I was in the beginning, at the multitude of the people: certainly, the truth exceedeth all Hyperboles; not onely in the Cities, Townes, and publick places, (in ſome of which one cannot walk without great violence of thruſting and crowding;) but alſo in the High-wayes, there is as great a concourſe, as is uſually in Europe at ſome great feaſtivall, or publick meeting. And if we will referre our ſelves to the generall regiſter book, wherein only the common men are enrolled and matriculated, leaving out women, children, eunuchs, profeſſours of armes and letters, (almoſt an infinite number) there are reckoned of them to be fifty eight millions, and fifty five thouſand, one hundred and foureſcore.

The houſes, where they inhabite, are not ſo ſumptuous and laſting, as ours: yet are they more convenient for the good contrivance, and more pleaſant for their exquiſite neatneſſe. They uſe much in their houſes *Charam*, an excellent verniſh, and painting of an accurate diligence. They build them not very high, eſteeming them more convenient for being low, as well for habitation, as for good accommodation. The richer ſort of people doe plant the courts and approaches to their houſes with flowres and ſmall trees; and, towards the North, they uſe fruit trees. In like manner, where they have roome enough, they ſet greater trees, and raiſe artificiall mountaines; to which end they bring from farre, great pieces of rocks: They keep there ſeverall ſorts of fowl; as Cranes and Swannes, and other beautifull birds: and alſo wild beaſts, as Stagges, and fallow Deare: They make many fiſh-ponds, where are to be ſeen gliding up and downe painted fiſh with gilded finns, and other things likewiſe of curioſitie and delight.

Their way of building is in this manner. They frame firſt exactly the roofe of the houſe, which they ſet upon pillars of wood, the which by how much the bigger they are, are ſo much the more eſteemed: after they fit up the walls with brick, or ſome ſuch like matter. There is a Tradition, that, anciently, they made their buildings according to exact rules of meaſure and proportion; of which Art there are yet ſome bookes remaining; but thoſe rules are now only obſerved in the Kings palaces, and in publick workes; as, towres of Cities and Townes, which they make of ſeverall formes; as round; ſquare; octangular; very beautifull, with ſtaires, ſome winding, ſome plaine, and Balanſters on the out-ſide.

In the veſſels and utenſiles of their houſe they are both very curious and expenſive; uſing much the aboveſaid *Charam*, a ſort of verniſh, which is taken from certaine trees, proper only to that, and the neighbouring, Countries: and in truth it is an excellent thing, as well for the perfection of the matter, (as may be ſeen in the workes which come from thence) as for the eaſineſſe in working it, as well in making new things, as in retrimming the old, and reducing them to their former beauty.

As for plenty; whereas this kingdome, by reaſon of its large extent, doth participate of diverſe latitudes and climates, it produceth and enjoyeth ſo great varietie of fruits, that nature ſeems there to have laid upon heapes, what ſhee but ſcatters through the reſt of the world. It hath

within its owne doores all that is neceſſary for mans life, together with all ſuperfluity of delicacies: whence it hath, not only no need to take almes of other Countries; but, with what it is able to ſpare, (which is both much and very good) it ſatisfieth the deſires of the neighbouring and remote kingdomes, who have always a longing deſire to ſee and enjoy it. Its chiefe ſuſtenance is that which is moſt uſed throughout the world, to wit, wheat and rice; ſome Countries making moſt uſe of the one, and ſome of the other. *China* produceth both in ſo great plenty, that a *Pico* of each (a *Pico* containes 125 pound of our weight) is commonly worth five Reals, (that is, about halfe a crowne of Engliſh mony) and if it commeth to ſeaven and a halfe 'tis counted a dearth.

The Northern Provinces uſe for their proper ſuſtenance Wheate, Barly, and Maiz; eating Rice but ſeldome, as we doe in Europe; leaving it for the Southern Provinces; Which although they have Wheat in great plenty, make uſe of it with the ſame moderation, as we doe of Rice, or any other ſort of fruit. They have Pulſe of diverſe kindes, the reliefe of the poorer ſort of people, and the ordinary provinder, in ſtead of Barly, for the Beaſts of Burthen. They uſe Herbes much; they being the food of the ordinary people, almoſt all the year throughout; & the chiefe Inventorie of their Apothecaries ſhops, for their phyſicke; which is founded only upon Herbes and very ſafe phyſick. Yet they want both Endive and Carduus, but have in ſtead thereof others, which we want.

Fleſh they have every where plentifully, even in ſmall villages. That which they uſe moſt conſtantly throughout the yeare, is Hogs-fleſh. Beefe is ſold there without any bones, they taking them alwayes out, firſt. Veniſon they have not ſo plentifull: nor doe they much affect it; although they have there the ſame which here afford us ſo much recreation; as, wild Boares, Stagges, fallow Deare and Hares, but no Conies. Of fowle there is great plenty, they have all ours in great abundance: Partridges of two ſorts, one whereof differeth not from ours, but only in their call. The Nightingales, though they are bigger than ours, have the ſame voice and manner of ſinging. Other birds there are which we have not here, and are in great eſteeme, as well for their beauty to the eye, as for their excellent taſte to pleaſe the Palat. The birds which we ſee painted in their workes that come into Europe have, without doubt, for the moſt part, the reſemblance of thoſe there. Art alwaies favouring nature, or but little altering from her. They are excellent in bringing up of tame fowle, and have of every ſort without number; Geeſe they have in ſo great quantity, that they feed up and downe the fields in huge flocks. That which is reported of their hatching egges by art, is very certaine; but it is only in the ſpring time, and then they have no need of the dam.

Wild Beaſts, as Tigers and Wolves there are in abundance throughout the kingdome, though they doe not much hurt. There are Elephants alwaies to be ſeen at court, but they are brought from other Countries. For tame creatures they have all ours, as well for burthen (without uſing Oxen for this, as they are faine to doe throughout all India) as alſo for tillage of their land, in which they make uſe of Oxen. In the Southern parts the *Bufolo's* undergoe the chiefe labour. They have ſtore of horſes, but without

without mettle, and little worth. Coaches were formerly much in uſe with them, and growing out of faſhion there, we tooke them up, being firſt uſed, in Italy and Spain, in the yeare 1546. Since they have only uſed Chaires and Sedans, finding them of leſſe pompe and expence, and of greater convenience; wherefore to this day in all their journies they ſerve themſelves with litters carried by Mules, or Chaires borne by 4, 6, or 8, men, according to the quality of the perſons. Thoſe which they uſe moſt in Cities are in forme not unlike unto ours. Thoſe in which the women are carried, are bigger, more convenient, and more beautified; and alſo the manner of carrying them is different. In the two Cities of *Penckin* and *Nanckin*, where there is a greater concourſe of all ſorts of people, they have in all publick places a good quantity of Horſes and Mules, with handſome furniture, and very well fitted with bridles and ſaddles, ſtanding ready to be hired by ſuch perſons, as are deſirous, with more eaſe and leſſe expence, to travell up and downe the City upon their occaſions.

In the Northern provinces, they have but little fiſh, (except it be at the Court; which, for being ſuch, wants nothing.). The reaſon is, becauſe in thoſe parts there are not many Rivers: yet they cauſe great ſtore of fiſh to be brought from the Southern Provinces, (which very much abound therein, taking them on the ſea coaſts, in lakes, and in pooles in great plenty) dried and accommodated in diverſe manners, ſo much as is ſufficient. In the River of *Nanckin* there is every yeare a fiſhing for the Kings uſe; and till that be done, there is a prohibition upon a rigorous penalty for any other perſon to fiſh: and the voyage being between five and fourty and threeſcore daies journy, yet it is brought freſh and ſweet, without ſalting it. Troutes are not there ſo much eſteemed as with us; but Sturgeon every whit as much; which, when it is ſold at the deareſt, doth not exceed five-pence the pound: By which you may perceive the cheapneſſe of all other things.

Among fruits; Cherries, and Mulberries have there no eſteeme, for their taſt is not very good; they uſe the greateſt part of thoſe fruits we have in Europe: but they are not comparable to ours, neither in quantity nor quality, except it be the Oranges of *Cantone*, which may well be called the *Queens* of Oranges: and are by ſome eſteemed to be, not ſo much Oranges as *Muſcatell* Grapes, diſguiſed in that forme and habit. The Southern provinces have the beſt fruit of all India; particularly *Cantone*; for they have *Anans*, *Manghas*, *Bananas*, *Giachas*, & *Giambas*; & above all, there are ſome fruits proper to them of a particular excellency, ſuch as in *Cantone* are; the *Licie*, (ſo the *Portugheſs* call them; but the *Chineſes*, Lici.) Theſe on the outſide are of an Orange colour, and when they are ripe doe very much beautify the trees they grow on. They are made like chaſtnuts, in the forme of an heart: when the ſhell is pilled of, which is only contiguous to it, the fruit remaines like a pearl in colour, very pleaſing to the ſight, but more to the taſte.

There is likewiſe a fruit called *Longans*, named by the *Chineſes*, *Lumien*, that is, Dragons eye, they are in figure and greatneſſe not much unlike a ſmall nut, but the *Pulpe* is very little, and different; but between

the ſhell and the ſtone it is ſweet and wholeſome: this fruit is found in *Cantone* and *Fokien*.

Throughout the kingdome there are red figges,(a name put upon them by the *Portugheſes*: for in the *Chineſe* tongue they are called *Suzu*:) it is a fruit very different from figges in colour, figure and taſte; the colour on the outſide is red, on the inſide like gold; the figure is of the bigneſſe of an Orange, bigger or leſſer; for there is as much diverſitie of them, as there is among us of figges. The rinde is very thinne, and is of ſo extraordinary good taſte, that in my opinion it may be reckoned among the chiefeſt in the world. They have one or two ſeeds, which are like unto blanched Almonds: the beſt are in the cold Countries. The provinces *Honan*, *Xianſi*, *Xenſi*, and *Xantum* enjoy the beſt in quality, and in great quantity; and dry enough of them to ſerve the whole kingdome. When they are dry, they are better than our dried figges, to which they have ſome kind of reſemblance.

The province of *Hamcheu* produceth a particular fruit, which they call *Jammoi*, as bigge as a plumbe, round, and in colour and taſte like unto the beſt *Mulberries*: but the tree is very different.

Peaches there are none, unleſſe it be in the Province of *Xenſi*, where there are ſome of a notable bigneſſe: ſome are red both within and without; others of a yellow colour, of the ſame figure and taſte with ours.

There are Melons every where in great abundance: but the beſt are not to be compared to our good ones: there are water melons in great plenty and very good.

Grapes are very rare and ſcarce, and grow only in Arbours, and cloſe walkes, except it be in the Province of *Xenſi*, where they are in abundance, and where they alſo dry them in great plenty. They make not their wine of Grapes, but of Barly, and in the Northern parts, of Rice; where they alſo make it of Appies, but in the Southern parts of Rice only; yet this is not ordinary Rice, but a certaine kind of it proper to them, which ſerveth only to make this liquor, being uſed in diverſe manners.

Vineger they make of the ſame ingredients as their wine; and, in the Weſterne Provinces, of *Millet*; which notwithſtanding is ſharp and well taſted.

The wine uſed by the common people, although it will make them drunke, is not very ſtrong nor laſting, 'tis made at all times of the yeare: but the beſt only in the winter: It hath a colour very pleaſing to the ſight; nor is the ſmell leſſe pleaſing to the ſent; or the Savour thereof, to the taſte: take altogether, it is a vehement occaſion, that there never want drunkards; but without any mulct of ſhame; for they have not yet placed it in that conſideration. Winter and Summer they drink it warm.

Flowers are in ſingular eſteeme with theſe people; and they have ſome exceeding beautifull and different from ours; which (yet) they doe not want. They have Clove-gilleflowres, which have no ſmell at all. They endeavour to have, the yeare throughout, flowers for every ſeaſon in their gardens, in which they are very curious. They have ſome flowres, which in their duration exceed the ordinary ſtile of nature; in which they ſeeme to be exempt from their common tribute of a ſhort life. For when theſe

plants

plants have no moysture left for the nourishment of their leaves, and exposed to the cold, these do fall off, then do new flowres sprout againe, & those the most odoriferous, during the greatest inclemency of the frost and snow. These are called *Lamui*, more pleasing to the sent than the eye; their colour being not unlike that of Bees-wax. They have other flowers like Lillies, called *Tiaohoa*, which they keep in the house, because that being carefully taken up with their roots entire and well cleansed from earth, they live and flourish in the ayre.

Their Garments, as also the furniture of their chambers and houses, they make of wooll, Linnen, Silke and Cotton, which they make great use of and weave thereof many faire and curious stuffs.

The riches of that kingdom is admirable: for besides that the earth is so fruitfull in all kinde of sustenance, and what ever is necessary for mans life, as may be perceived by what hath been already said; they do *vend* unto strangers the best and richest merchandise of all the East; such as are Gold-threed; Gold in the leafe and Ingot; Rubies; Saphires; small Pearle; Muske; raw silke; and wrought silk quick-silver, Copper, Tin, *Tomnaga*, which is a kind of mettall more fine, and as hard as Tin; Vermilion, Salt-nitre, Brimstone, Sugar, and other things of lesse importance.

Their guilded workes for houshold-stuffe, ornaments and jewells for women, both for necessity and curiositie, are sufficiently known to the world: nor doth all this issue out at one port, but by many in a great and perpetuall commerce. In all this abundant riches of the Country, industry of the inhabitants, Arts and means of gaining their living to an excessive plenty, they doe not let passe any other thing, that can bring them any profit; and notwithstanding the sight of so great affluence of noble commodities, they make a profit of their Beefe-bones; Hogges-haires; and of the smalleft ragge, that is throne into the streetes. There raigneth among them that only pledge & suretie of the duration of Empires; that is, that the publike is rich, and no particulars. They are not so rich there as in *Europe*; nor so many which can properly deserve that name: nor are the poor here so many, nor so poor; as those there. The people is infinite, nor can they have a capitall, or stock, sufficient for so many; or mony to fill so many purses. Hence it comes to passe, that the partition among them is such, that much comes to few, a mediocrity to not many, and a little to almost infinite. Their mony is much at one stay, which may be perceived by the same low price of things, salary of servants, pay of workmanship, and stipend of publick Ministers.

So that even to this day, at least in diverse of these countries they live, as they did formerly in *Portugall*; when a *Maraved is*, which is worth a farthing and a half, divided into six blanes, would buy six severall things. So was it also in *Castile*, not only in ancient times, but even to the raign of *Don John* the first: the records of which are still preserved: but such temperance and plenty long since are gone out of the world. From hence it is manifest, how much that admirable duration of the Empire of *China* dependeth on observing its lawes and ancient customes, without ever opening a gate (that the great ones might seeme greater, and the small ones, great) to luxurie in apparel, and excesse in diet; which are the irreparable

ruine

ruine of Common wealths.

A pound of mutton is worth a penny, a pigeon a farthing and a halfe, the hire of a man-ſervant for a year, two hundred farthings, and his dyet and lodging. But there is a great difference betwixt ſome places and others, thoſe of the South, as they have the advantage in commerce, ſo they exceed the reſt in money; and the price of things; which continually riſeth, as we find every day by experience: but even there to this day, the rate is very moderate.

CHAP. 2.

Of the Provinces in particular, and firſt of thoſe of the South.

THis kingdome is divided into two parts, South and North; and both theſe ſubdivided into fifteen provinces, as is above-ſaid. To this Southern part belong nine; which are *Cantone*, *Quamſi*, *Yunnam*, *Fukien*, *Kiamſi*, *Suchuem*, *Utquam*, *Chekiam*, *Nankim*, we wil treate of theſe in this chapter, and of the reſt in the next. That we may proceede diſtinctly, ſpeaking of them in the ſame order that we have named them.

Cantone is the firſt, and lyeth in that part of the South, that is properly named *Quantum*. It is in the latitude of twenty three degrees, it is large, rich, and abounding in wheat and rice; of theſe it produceth each yeare two harveſts, though for the moſt part they are of a ſeverall graine. There is ſtore of ſuger, copper and tin, materials, which they worke, with great variety, into innumerable ſorts of veſſels; as alſo, workes made with *Charam*, an excellent vernish, and with guilding, ſome whereof are tranſported into *Europe*.

The Jeſuits in this province had two reſidencies with their Churches and houſes, vvhich periſhed by reaſon of Severall perſecutions, as you ſhall find hereafter.

The people are able Mechanicks, and though of ſmall invention, yet they imitate excellently whatſoever they find invented. To the City called alſo *Cantone* (though the proper name thereof bee *Guamcheufu*) the *Portugeſſes* go twice every year with their marchandice. It is diſtant from *Macao* an hundred and five miles: and *Macao* is diſtant from the firſt Iſlands, and from the greater Cities of that Empire fifty four: The circumference thereof is 15 good miles. The concourſe of merchants thither is very great, and therefore it is more peopled than many of the other Cities. The moſt and beſt commodities of that Kingdome are brought thither, becauſe it is the moſt open and free ſeat of trade in that nation. And to ſay nothing of the ſix neighbouring kingdomes, from whence all ſorts of merchandiſe is brought thither, as well by natives as ſtrangers: only that which the *Portugeſſes* take in for *India*, *Giappone*. and *Manila*, cometh one year with another to five thouſand three hundred cheſts of ſeverall ſilke ſtuffes; each cheſt including 100 pieces of the moſt

moſt ſubſtantial ſilks, as velvet damask and ſattin; of the ſlighter ſtuffes, as halfe-damasks, painted and ſingle taffities 250 peices of gold 2200 Ingots of 12 ounces weight a peece; of musk, ſeaven *Pichi*: which is more then 35 *Arrova's* every *Arrova* weighing 25 pound, of 6 ounces to the pound; beſides ſmall pearle; ſugar; *Porcellane* diſhes; *China* wood; *Rheubarbe*; and ſeverall curious guilded workes; and many other things of leſſe importance; it being hard to name them all even in a longer relation.

To this Province belongeth the Iſland of *Aynan*, where pearls are fiſhed in great plenty. It is ſufficiently populous, by one city; it hath Several villages on the North part thereof: toowards the South there lyeth a barbarous people, which admit the *Chineſſes* only to trafficke and commerce, without ſubmitting to their dominion. It produceth that precious wood of *Aquila* and that ſweet wood, which the *Portugeſes* call roſe-wood, and the natives, *Hoalim*; and other things of leſſe importance.

On the North ſide of *Cantone* the Province of *Quamſi* extendeth it ſelfe to the latitude of 25 degrees: it enjoyes the ſame climate without any conſiderable difference; (ſo that it hath nothing particular, which is notable;) and is counted the ſecond Province.

Yunnam is the third; and lyeth in the latitude of 24 degrees, and is the furtheſt diſtant of any from the Centre of *China*: it is a great countrie, but hath little merchandiſe, I know not any thing is brought from thence, unleſſe it bee that matter, whereof they make the beads for chapplets, which in *Portugall* they call *Alambras*; and in *Caſtile*, *Ambares*; and are like Amber, they are counted good againſt the catarre; it is digged out of mines, and ſometimes in great peices: it is redder than our Amber, but not ſo cleane. In this province is violated that cuſtome of the Kingdome that women do not go to the market to buy or ſell, as in other countries of the world.

On the other ſide of *Cantone* is the fourth Province called *Fukien*, or by another name *Chincheo*, in the latitude of 26 degrees: it is for the greateſt part Mountanous; and therefore not ſo well inhabited. Contrary to the lawes of the Kingdom, the Natives of this Province do go into the countries of the neighbouring ſtrangers, which are upon the ſea-coaſts. It yeeldeth gold, good ſugar in great quantitie, good Canvas-cloath; for other linnen there is none in *China*. There is made excellent paper of diverſe kindes, which for plenty, goodneſſe, and cheapneſſe, is very remarkable, They make uſe of printing no leſſe conveniently, and (as it appeareth) more anciently, than in *Europe*, although not in the very ſame manner: for here, after the printing of each ſheet, the letters are taken aſunder: there they carve what they would print upon boards or plate, ſo that the bookes are ſtill preſerved entire in their work-houſes; and therefore as often as there is occaſion, they can reprint any book, without the expence of new ſetting the letters. This country is ſcituated upon the Sea-ſide, and is another eminent port, from whence are iſſued out of that Kingdom, infinite Merchandiſe, which are carried by the people of this country, that are induſtrious, and brought up to it, to *Manila*, *Giappone*, and particularly to the Iſland *Formoſa*, which is even in the ſight of the land, (for with a

a good wind it is not above 24 houres voyage thither) where they trade with the *Hollanders*.

There are two houſes and Churches there belonging to our company; under whoſe Government and direction are a great number of very good Chriſtians; who have about ten Churches belonging to them, the which are viſited by us very diligently at ſet times. Two of their chiefe Churches are in the City of *Fucheu* which is their Metropolis: another in the City of *Cieumchu*, the reſt in other Cities. There are (beſides) many particular Oratories.

The Iſland *Formoſa* lyeth in the Latitude of 22 degrees, it is ſituated between the Kingdomes of *China* and *Giappone*: before you come thither you muſt paſſe by a great number of Iſlands named *Liqueu*: the length of this Iſland is 150 miles, the breadth 75.

The *Hollanders* have there a fort placed in a ſandy vale, under which lyeth the Port, which is encompaſſed with bankes of ſand, and if it were not diſtinguiſhed and ſecured by certaine poſts ſet up in the water, the entrance would be very difficult even to thoſe of the Countrie. On the other ſide of the Iſland toward the Eaſt, the *Spanyards* have a fort, diſtant from that of the *Hollanders* 90 miles by ſea, and by land 45, as is reported. The ſoyle of the Iſland is ſo fruitfull, that it produceth graſſe nine or ten palmes high (a palme is nine inches, Engliſh meaſure) where the *Hollanders* feed their cattell. There is ſo great abundance of Stagges, that it ſeemeth incredible to him that hath not ſeen it. Father *Albertus Miceſchi*, (who lived there in the condition of a ſlave) relateth, that, riding to the next woods with leave from the Governour, to gather ſome medicinall hearbes, he ſaw by the way ſo great a multitude of Stagges, that he judged them to be the herds belonging to the people of the Country, diſperſed up and downe the fields, till coming neerer he found with his eyes the contrary. There are alſo many of thoſe *Animals* called *Alces* or *Elkes*, the which, I did hitherto beleeve, were only to be found in *Lituania* and the adjacent Countries. There are alſo many other *Animals* wholly differing from ours, and altogether ſtrange to us. It is the likeſt Country to *Europe* of all *India*: it enjoyeth an healthfull ayre, and cold, like ours. It produceth ſome ſpices, but not in great plenty; as Pepper in the woods, and Cynamon on the mountaines, & *Camphire* trees of a notable bigneſſe, *China* roots, and *Salſapariglia*,, in great quantitie. There are alſo gold mines, but the *Hollanders* have not yet open'd them.

The people of the Countrie weare no manner of cloathes; nevertheleſſe both men and women doe cover that, which in all the *India's* uſeth to be hidden from ſight, by the inſtinct of nature. They dwell in round houſes made with Bulruſhes of ſeverall colours, beautifull to behold a farre off. Their ordinary food is Stagges fleſh as fat as porke; and Rice; of which alſo they make very ſtrong wine. Many of them doe turne Proteſtants by the perſwaſion of the *Holland* Miniſters, and live verteouſly. They are tall and active of body, ſo fleet in running that they are able to ſingle out, and run downe a Stagge in their hunting. Their Lords doe weare a Crowne of dead mens skulls, ſtitched together and embelliſhed with ſilke: and theſe are the heads of their enemies killed by themſelves.

Their

Their King weareth two wings of various feathers upon his head: others crowne themſelves with apples of gold, others make themſelves hornes of a certaine ſtraw, made up with *Bufolo's* haire: They gird themſelves alſo about with a girdle of young Bulruſhes curiouſly woven. They carry hanging at their breaſt two Tortoiſes and a woodden mallet, which ſerve them in ſtead of a drum. There is likewiſe another Iſland neere to it, inhabited by fierce ſavage people, who kill, whoſoever goeth thither. The above-named father *Miceſchi* ſaw one of them taken by the Hollanders, who was fifteen palmes high, as it ſeemed to him.

The fift place we will give to the Province of *Kiamſi*, which is contiguous to that of *Cantone* toward the North, in the latitude of 29 degrees. It takes its beginning from a great ridge of mountaines, which reare themſelves upon the confines of *Cantone*, from theſe Mountaines two Rivers have their originall; one, which runneth toward the South, and is preſently navigable; the other towards the North; which after it hath watred a good part of this Province receiveth into his channell another large River of the Province of *Huquam*, and then runneth forward with the name of the famous *Nankim*. The skirts of theſe Mountaines are conſiderable for the good Cities that are ſcituated thereon; very convenient for the paſſage of travailers, and for the conduct of Merchandiſe; which for the moſt part paſſeth upon the backs of men and boyes, according to the abilities of each, learning this trade from their youth, which is the moſt uſuall imployment of that Countrie. The voyage is but of one whole day, and it is very much to ſee what paſſeth by in it. For there being no other bridge; and theſe Rivers being the moſt frequented paſſes of all *China*, 'tis almoſt incredible, how great a concourſe of people there is, and what a multitude of commodities, which goe and come without intermiſſion. The Merchandiſe is all put in one ſtore-houſe, and is received by weight into another with ſo much fidelitie, that it is not neceſſary the owner ſhould be preſent, becauſe upon all accidents the Hoſtes are bound to make good whatſoever is wanting. They are obliged alſo to give to every gueſt of qualitie, or Merchant two banquets, or one at leaſt, as alſo to their ſervants; and if they be not ſatisfied therewith, they tell them of it, expoſtulate, and threaten not to frequent any more their Inne, there not wanting many others.

By this Government they make their covetous Hoſtes very ſumptuous and bountifull. The Hoſtes are alſo obliged, as ſoone, as their gueſts are embarqued, (for if they goe by land this priviledge ceaſeth) to ſend them a preſent of two things, or of one at leaſt, as fruit, two fiſhes, a little fleſh, a couple of pullets; and this without paying, either at your entrance, abode, or departure; for there is nothing to be payd, either for the lodging or bedſtead, I ſay bedſtead, becauſe the Hoſte allowes you no bed but every one carrieth one with him at his backe, when he hath no other convenience; but they are not ſo big as our beds, but much lighter. The profit of the Hoſte conſiſteth in ſo much *per cent*, which is payd them by the Boateman for ſuch perſons, or goods as are carried by water; and by the porters for ſuch as paſſe by land; and as the concourſe is great, the profit cannot be little. Every thing paſſeth through the hands of Inſurers, ſo

that if any thing be wanting, they ſupply it and make it up.

In the Cuſtome-houſe (for there is a very famous one here) there is not ſo much honour done the Merchant, but more favour. There is no houſe where the Merchandiſe is depoſited, weighed or viſited; neither is it taken out of the barke; but only a moderate rate is payed for it by the eye, and according to the Merchants booke of accounts. If the paſſenger be no Merchant, although he goe alone in a Barke with his ſervants, and carry five or ſix cheſts, and ſeverall other things, which are uſually tranſported from one Country to another, they are not ſearched nor opened, neither doe they pay any cuſtome. A good example for the Cuſtome and Gabell-houſes of *Europe*, where a poore traveller is ſo beaſtly and barbarouſly, robbed and ſpoiled; when all he carrieth with him is not worth ſo much as they aske him for cuſtome.

For ſtrangers ſhips, which come into the Port of *Macao*, as ſoone as any arriveth, they unlade their Merchandiſe as they pleaſe, without any hinderance; and when the cuſtomers come, they pay them according to the content of the veſſel, without making any enquiry into the qualitie of the *Cargazon*.

But to returne to the Province of *Kiamſi*, (of which we were diſcourſing;) it particularly aboundeth in Rice and fiſh, but moſt of all in people. So that the *Chineſſes* call them *Laochu*, that is to ſay, Rats. Whereof, we have a reſemblance in *Portugall*, in the Country that lyeth between the Rivers *Duero* and *Migno*; which, where it confineth upon *Gallitia* hath ſo great multitude of people, that it is therefore called by the ſame name; although learned men doe derive it from *Rates*, an ancient part of that Country.

Now this people running over the whole kingdom, like ſwarmes of Bees, do fill it with ſeverall Trades whereunto they apply themſelves; and for the greateſt part they lead a miſerable life, and are therefore ſo penurious, niggardly, and drie in their preſents, that they paſſe, in ridiculous proverbs, through the reſt of the Provinces.

It is famous for Sturgeon, which it hath of very great bigneſſe; and more for the *Porcellane* diſhes (indeed the only work in the world of this kinde) which are made only in one of its Townes: So that all that is uſed in the Kingdom, and diſperſed through the whole world, are brought from this place: although the earth, whereof they are made commeth from another place: but there only is the water, wherewith preciſely they are to be wrought to come to their perfection, for if they be wrought with other water the worke will not have ſo much gloſſe and luſtre. In this worke there are not thoſe myſteries that are reported of it here, neither in the matter, the form, nor the manner of working; they are made abſolutely of earth, but of a neate and excellent quality. They are made in the ſame time, and the ſame manner, as our earthen veſſels; only they make them with more diligence and accurateneſſe. The Blew, wherewith they paint the *Porcellane*, is *Anill*, whereof they have abundance, ſome do paint them with *Vermilion*, and (for the King) with yellow.

This Province, and that of *Chincheo* and *Cantone*, which border one upon

upon another, do unite, as it were, in an angle, with many Mountaines between them: In the middle of which Mountaines there is a ſmall Kingdome, which hath a particular King of its own without any ſubjection to the *Chineſſes*; from whom he doth defend himſelfe, if they pretend to aſſault him; nor is the defence difficult, there being but one entrance into that kingdome. They admit of the *Chineſſe-Phyſitians* in their infirmities, but not of their learned men into the adminiſtration of their government. If they have an ill Harveſt, and that there is like to be a ſcarſity they go out, and rob in a millitary order, to the ſound of the drum. So in the year 1632 they gave no ſmall trouble to this province of *Kiamſi*.

The laſt account ſhall be concerning the Chriſtianity there, which hath proſpered very well, being alſo beneficed with two Churches and houſes which we have in that Province, the one in the City of *Nauchan*, which is the Metropolis; The other in the City of *Nauhium*.

The ſix Province is called *Suchuen*, in the ſame paralel with that of *Kiamſi*, and in the ſame latitude of 29 degrees, nor hath it any thing in particular differing from the former, worthy the relation.

The Province of *Huquam* is the ſeventh in Scituation, it lyeth more to the North, in the heighth of 31 degrees, it exceeds the whole Kingdom for the abundance of Rice. The *Chineſſes* ſay, that that whole Kingdom is able to give but a breakfaſt in reſpect of *Huquam*, which provideth for the whole yeare. It hath ſtore of oyle, and no leſſe Fiſh, by reaſon of the rivers, which it enjoyeth, and the lakes, which ſeem rather Seas. In the Metropolis of this Province there was a Reſidencie begun at the time of my arrival.

The province of *Cakiam*, which is the eighth, lyeth in the Latitude of 30 degrees: it is for the moſt part ſcituated by the Sea-ſide, fertile, plain, and almoſt all divided by ſeverall rivers, ſome whereof run through their Cities and Townes. In riches it exceeds many of the Provinces, as being, the Fountain, from whence the beſt Commodities of that Monarchie doe flow: it is ſingular in ſilke, which it diſtributeth through every part, whether it be raw, or wrought; in Balls or in Stuffe. All that goeth out of the Kingdome any way, cometh from this Province: though all *China* hath the benefit of the Silk-worme, yet all the reſt would not ſerve them, to make them Scarfes: the name of the Metropolis is *Hamchen*. Here we have two houſes, which upon certain good conſiderations are reduced to one; where there is cultivated a copious and good Chriſtianity, and alſo much honoured, by reaſon of the number of people of quality that are in it,

Finally, this Province is famous for many things, but particularly for three. The firſt is a lake called *Sihu*, which is one of the rareſt in the world. It is in circuite Thirty *Lis*, which are ſix miles: it is ſet about with excellent Palaces, and theſe environed by pleaſant Mountaines cloathed with graſſe, plants, and trees: the water is alwayes running, for there comming in a current at one ſide, & iſſuing out at the other; it is ſo cleere, that it inviteth one to behold it with great delight, the ſmalleſt ſand, that lyeth at the bottome, being to be diſcovered. There are cer-

taine wayes paved with ſtone, that do croſſe over it, offering paſſage to thoſe that travell over it, either upon their occaſions or curioſitie: there ſtand ready ſmall Barkes of a conſiderable burden which are made for recreation and banquets; the kitchin is in the ſteerage, or the forecaſtle, and the middle ſpace ſerveth for a hall. Above higher, there is a place for the women, covered with lattices, that they might not be ſeen. Theſe Barkes are painted and guilded after a curious and various manner, and are provided in great abundance with all things neceſſary for the navigation which is ſhort and free from wracks of water, but not ſo well from thoſe of wine; there happening many: as alſo ſhipwrackes of eſtates very often; there being ſcarce any in the whole kingdome that hath any thing, that doth not come to ſpend in theſe delights, either part or the whole; and ſometimes more than his whole ſtock is worth.

The ſecond is, the excellency of the ſilke, as well for the plenty above-ſaid, as for the curioſitie of the Art, with which a good part of it is wrought, engrayling it with precious and beautifull workes of gold. This is only after their manner and guſto; and is not ſent out of the kingdome, but as a ſingular worke is reſerved for the Kings Palaces, who every yeare buyeth up all that is made of this ſort.

The third is, the worſhipping of their Idols; in which is particularly to be perceived whence the fabrick of their Temples proceeds, which are without doubt very famous.

The laſt of theſe nine Southerly Provinces is *Nankim*, ſcituated in 32 degrees of latitude, and is one of the beſt Provinces of the kingdome, and the perfection of the whole realm. It ſendeth abroade its commodities, or workes of importance, to no part; as if they were unworthy, to participate of its perfection; which is moſt rare in all ſort of varietie, and ſo much exceeding all the reſt, that every one, to ſell his commodities the better, pretendeth, that they are of *Nankim*, and ſo paſſeth them off, at a greater price.

That part which is towards the Weſt, is the moſt rich, and maketh ſo much Cotton-wool, that thoſe of the Country affirme, that there is only in the towne of *Xanuchi* and the precinct thereof, which is large, 200000 Loomes for this ſtuffe; ſo that from that place only the King draweth 150000 crownes yearly.

In one houſe there uſeth to be many of them for they are narrow, as the ſtuffe is. Almoſt all the women are employed in this work.

The Court did reſide in this Province for a long time; and even to this day all the Courts of juſtice and priviledges thereof are conſerved in the City of *Nankim*, whoſe right name is *Umthienfu*; and it ſeemeth to me to be the beſt and greateſt City of the whole Kingdome, both for the form of the building, the largeneſſe of the ſtreets, the manners and dealing of the people, and for the plentie and excellency of all things.

It hath admirable places of recreation, and is ſo populous through its confines, that the villages ſucceed one another, in a manner, from three miles to three miles; although at this day, by reaſon it wants the preſence of the King it is, in its ſelfe leſſe populous; nevertheleſſe in diverſe parts thereof it is yet troubleſome to walke the ſtreets for the crowde of people

that

that one meeteth. Beſides, the many Palaces, Temples, Towers, and Bridges doe render it very conſiderable. In the wall thereof there are twelve gates, barr'd with Iron, and guarded with Artillery: a good way without runneth another wall with no ſmall ruines. The circuit thereof (for I was deſirous to know the meaſure of it) is two daies journey on horſe-back: That of the inner wall is eighteen miles; both the one and the other have within them many populations, gardens, and fields which are tilled, the bread whereof uſeth to be applied to the uſe of the ſouldiery within the City, to the number of fourty thouſand.

In one part thereof there is caſt up an artificiall Mount, on the top whereof there is ſeen a wooden ſpheare, not armed, although the circles thereof are placed at the latitude of the ſame City, which is 32 degrees; a ſmall latitude in reſpect of the great colds, but a very large one, for the great heate which it ſuffereth: The ſpheare is in circumference of a notable bigneſſe, and is a very compleat piece of work.

It hath moreover a Tower divided into ſeaven ſtories of ſingular beauty for the workemanſhip thereof, it being full of figures, and wrought like *Percellane*: an edifice, which might be ranked among the moſt famous of ancient *Rome*. The river cometh to kiſſe the feet of this City, and ſendeth up ſome armes of it ſelfe into it. The name of the river is *Yanchukiam*, that is to ſay, the Sonne of the ſea; nor vainly is it ſo called, it being the moſt aboundant in water, of any that is knowne in the world. There is alſo great plenty of fiſh.

We have foure Churches in this Province, the firſt in *Nankim*, with a houſe of *Jeſuites*, and is of a very ancient, and exerciſed, Chriſtianity: having ſuffered foure perſecutions, and come of from each of them with more vigour. The ſecond, in the Towne of *Xamhai*, with a great number of beleevers. The third in the City of *Xamkiam*. The fourth in the Towne of *Kiatini*: beſide theſe Churches there are many Oratories. And ſo much ſhall ſuffice concerning the nine Southern Provinces,

CHAP. 3.

Of the Northern Provinces.

SIx are the Provinces, which are called Northern, and their names are *Honam*, *Xemſi*, *Kianſi*, *Xantum*, *Pekim*, and *Leaotum*. The firſt lyeth in the latitude of 35 degrees, as centre of the Kingdome, and produceth moſt gallant fruits, as well thoſe that are proper to the Countrie, as ours in *Europe*; nor is the cheapneſſe of them leſſe: I bought for a farthing and a halfe 88 Apricocks; it hath nothing elſe notable, except a Son of the Kings called *Fovam*, the laſt of thoſe which came out of the Palace. He liveth with ſo great ſplendour and authoritie of a King, that to be ſuch, he only wanteth the name and juriſdiction. In *Caifum*, the Metropolis thereof, we have had onely for theſe few yeares, a Church and houſe, but a good plenty of Chriſtians.

The ſecond is *Xemſi*; it lyeth in 36 degrees, and more, to the Weſt:

it

it is very large,but dry for want of water,as alſo are the three neighbouring Provinces: notwithſtanding it doth abound in Wheate, Barly and *Maize*, of Rice they have but little. All winter long they give wheat to their Beaſts; which are many; particularly their ſheep, which they ſheare three times a year; once in the Spring, another time in the Summer,a third in the Autume; but the firſt time of ſhearing yeeldeth the beſt wool.

From hence cometh all the wooll, of which are made the felts and other things uſed,either in this Province or elſwhere. They make there of no ſort of cloath, not uſing to ſpin wool, but only Goats-hair;of which they weave certain Stuffes for the hanging of their roomes, in ſo great perfection that the moſt ordinary are better than ours ,and the Beſt are eſteemed more precious than ſilk. They make likewiſe of Goats-haire a very fine Felt, which they call*Tum*,and is made uſe of for garments: But this is not made of every ſort of Goats-hair, but of a very fine haire which lyeth under the firſt. They pull it out with great care,and make it up in certain balsof the bigneſſe of an ordinary loafe,and then put it out to be wrought with ſingular skill.

Musk is proper to this Province; and becauſe it is in queſtion, after what manner this excellent perfume is made; I will give you account of it according to the moſt diligent enquir yI have made concerning it. It is the Navel of an Animal about the bigneſſe of a ſmall Stagge,whoſe fleſh is very good meate; and only that part is taken containing that preci ous matter: but all thoſe Cods, which are brought hither to us, are not true and perfect Navells; for the *Chineſſes* have learnt to falſifie them, by ſtuffing ſome peices of the skin of that *Animall* with musk,that is vitiated, and mingled, with ſome other things,

Here is alſo Gold found,but not in Mines(for though there be Mines both of Gold and Silver, the King doth not ſuffer them to be opened) but out of Rivers and Eddies. and although it be found only in ſmal peices and graines, yet being put together, it amounts to a great quantity, there being Infinite people both young and old, which go in ſearch of it.

There is *Rubarbe* and *Profumo*, which are not found in any other part; for that which cometh from *Perſia* doth not ſeem to be naturall, to that place; for, of as many as have travelled through that countrie, there is not any that gives an account to have ſeen there that healthfull plant. It is ſomething tall,with leaves bigger than Cole-worts: it doth not grow wilde, as ſome have imagined, but is Cultivated in gardens with a great deale of care.

In this Province is opened the third Gate,the which,as I ſayd above, is a ſeate of much Merchandiſe: for it hath two Cities in the borders thereof,*Gaucheu* and *Sucheu* toward the Weſt, (as *Machao* is in the Province of *Canſone* toward the South) from whence come numerous Caravans of above a thouſand in company, of ſeverall Nations and Provinces, but for the moſt part Moores,Thus far came Brother *Benedict-Goes* to ſeek for the Kingdom of *Cathaya*(which is no other than *China* it ſelfe)whoſe voyage we will here breefly relate,

He departed in lent, the year 1603 for to find out the truth of what

was

was reported of the Kingdome of *Cathaca*, by order of the ſuperiors of *India*, from the Kingdome of *Mogor* and the royal City of *Laor* in the Habit of an *Armenian* carrying Merchandiſe, as well to live, as to paſſe with the more facility. The whole *Caravan* conſiſted of 500 Perſons (for the moſt part Saraſens) and uſed to go every year from this royall City to another in another Kingdom named *Caſcar*. After a months voyage he arrived at a City named *Athu*, of the ſame province with *Laor*: thence in two months and a half, to *Paſſaur*: and after another month and a half, ſometimes travelling, and ſometimes reſting, he came to the City of *Ghideli*, where he wanted little to have been ſlain by theeves: And finally after 20 dayes more he came to the City of *Cabu*, the moſt noble Merchant-towne of all the countries ſubjected to the *Mogor*, from hence after ſome ſtay, he paſſed to *Parvám*, the laſt City of the Kingdom of *Mogor*; then travelling for 20. daies over very high Mountains he came to *Calcia*, a countrie of faire-hayred people; and in other 25 dayes to *Chema*, where he was forced to ſtay a month by reaſon of Civill broils; and after many troubles and dangers of theeves and *Banditti*, and having paſſed many countries of the Kings of *Samarhan*, they came into the country of *Tengo*, and at length he entred into the Metropolitan City of the Kingdom of *Caſcár*, called *Tangheſár*, in the month of November, in the ſame year.

At this City, which is, a noble ſeate of Merchandiſe for thoſe Kingdomes, the Caravan of Merchants which come from *Cabull*, ended their voyage, and a new *Caravan* ſetteth forth from thence to go to *China*. But our Brother remained here (firſt) many months, expecting the time of their departure, and having in the meane time made himſelfe known to the King of the country, he obtained letters of favour and recommendations, to all places whither he ſhould go.

The time therefore being come, he departed with ten horſes, for to carry himſelf, his companion and his goods in company of the whole *Caravan* toward *Chathaya*, that is *China*, in the moneth of November the year following; and having travelled 25 dayes with a great deale of difficultie, over ſtones and ſand, he came to the City of *Aeſu*, part of the Kingdom of *Caſcár*: after having paſſed a deſart, called *Caracathai*, that is, Black-earth; and gone through many Cities, at length he came to a City called *Cialis* in the ſame Kingdom of *Caſcár*. Here whileſt he fitted himſelf for his journey, there arrived Merchants which came from *China*, of whom Brother *Benedict* learned ſome tydings of the City of *Pekim*, and of our Fathers, which had been there ſeen by theſe Saraſen Merchants. So that he was ſatisfied, that *Cathaya* was nothing elſe but *China*; and the royall City, named by the *Saraſens Gambalú*, was *Pekim*. From this City of *Cialis*, *Benedict* departing with a few in company, came in twenty dayes to *Pucian*, and afterwards to *Turphan*, *Aramuth*, and *Camul* the laſt City of the Kingdome of *Cialis*. From *Camul* after nine dayes journey, they came to the wall of *China*, at a place called *Chiacuon*: and ſo had entrance into *China*, which he ſought under the name of *Cathaya*. Excepting therefore eleven dayes journey, which was through a country peopled by Tartars, all the reſt of his voyage was through countries inhabited by Moors, or *Mahumetans*.

Now to return to our ſtory: with theſe *Caravans* come Embaſſadours, which the Princes of the Moors ſend to the King of *China*, making every three yeares a ſmall Embaſſie, in reſpect both of the Perſons and the preſents; and every five years a great one. The moſt part of the *Caravan* remaine in the two above-named Cities; (which are upon the *Frontiers*) trafficking there with their Merchandiſe, The others go to comply with their charge, and to offer the preſent in the name of five Kings, which are the Kings of *Rume*, *Arabia*, *Camul*, *Eamarcan*, *Turſan*; The firſt four know nothing of this Embaſſy: the fifth, although he know of it, doth not make the preſent, nor ſend the Embaſſy; but hath only this advantage, that he nameth the Embaſſadors. The preſent is made by the Merchants among themſelvs, & theſe coming to the Vice-roy of thoſe parts, the King hath advice given him of their arrival by a paper, called a *memoriall* or *petition*: as ſoone as they have leave from the Court, and that their names are inrolled, there depart 40. or 50. of them, beſides many more added to them; who, to have leave to enter into the kingdome to trade, & to eate at the Kings expenſes, give the captaine a Bribe of about a hundred or ſix-ſcore crownes a man. There goeth a long with them a *Mandarine*, who entertaineth them of free coſt, while they travell: But if they make any ſtay (as they did in the *Metropolis* of the province, for more than three monthes ſpace) the Kings expenſe ceaſeth, but not the benefit of their traffique, for all that while they follow their Merchandiſe.

The Merchandiſe which they bring, are Salt-*Armoniak*, fine Azure, fine linnen, carpets, called Raiſins, knives, and other ſmall things. The beſt and greateſt Commoditie is a certain ſtone, called *Yaca*, which they bring from the Kingdom of *Yauken*; the worſt is of a whitiſh colour, the fineſt is green, it hath been of great price formerly in *China*, and is ſtill of good value. They make thereof diverſe ſorts of Jewels for the ornament of the head, and it is much uſed in the palaces: the girdle, which the King giveth to the *Colai* is embrodered with the fineſt ſort therof; which no other is allowed to uſe in this ornament. That which they carry back in exchange of their commodities is *Porcellane*, *Rubies*, Musk, raw-ſilk, ſilk-ſtuffes, diverſe other rarities and medicinall drugges, as *Rubarb*; And this I do imagine is the ſame which is tranſported from *Perſia* to theſe parts.

The Embaſſadours being arrived, they offer their preſent, which conſiſteth of a thouſand *Arrabas* of this precious ſtone (whereof we have ſpoken) which maketh 1333. Italian pounds, whereof 300. pounds are of the fineſt ſort, 340. horſes, which are to be left upon the frontier, 300. ſmall poynted Diamonds; twelve *Cattes* of fine Azure, which is about 100. Italian pounds; 600. knives, & as many files. The laſt preſent ſeeming to me improper to be preſented to a King, I enquird what uſe the King made of them, but I could not meet any one was able to inform: only a Captain told me, that it was a very ancient thing for that preſent to be compoſed of ſuch things, with ſo much infallibility they durſt not make any alteration. Of the reſt of the commodities which they bring, if the King deſireth any thing, he ſendeth to ſee and buy it. At their return the King rewardeth them with two pieces of cloth of gold for each horſe; 30. pieces of yellow ſilk, 30. pound of *Chá*, ten of Musk, 50. of a medicine called *Tienzo*,

and

and as many of Silver. Theſe *Saracens* told me, that the preſent, which they gave the King, was not in their country worth above 7000 Crownes, but what was given them by the King for their Embaſſie and voyage, was noe leſſe worth then 50000 Crownes: a pretty good gayne, but ordinary from thoſe Princes.

From this Province goeth another Caravan for the powerful Kingdom of *Tibet*; which carryeth diverſe things; in particular, Silk-ſtuffs, *Porſellane* and *Chá*. *Chá* is a leafe of a tree, about the bigneſſe of *Mirtle*; in other Provinces, of the hearbe *Baſil*; and in others, of the ſmall *Pomgranat*. They drie it over the fire in iron-ſives, where it hardens and ſticketh together. There is of many ſorts of it, as well becauſe the plant is various, as alſo that the upper leaves do exceed the other in fineneſſe; a property almoſt of all plants. There is of it, from a Crown a pound to four farthings according to the quality of it, there being ſo many differences thereof. It being thus dryed and caſt into warme water, it giveth it a colour, ſmell and taſt, at the firſt unpleaſing, but cuſtome makes it more acceptable; Tis much uſed in *China* and *Giappone*, for it ſerveth not only for ordinary drink in ſtead of water, but alſo for entertainment to ſtrangers when they viſit them, as wine doth in the Northern parts; it being throughout all thoſe kingdoms eſteemed a wretched niggardlineſſe to give only good words to thoſe that come to their houſe, although they be ſtrangers: at leaſt they muſt have *Chá*; and if the viſit be any thing long, there muſt be added ſome fruit or ſweet-meates: ſometimes they lay the cloath for this, and when not, they ſet it in two diſhes upon a little ſquare table. Many vertues are related of this leaf: certain it is, that it is very wholeſome; and that, neither in *China* nor *Giappone*, there is any troubled with the ſtone; nor is ſo much as the name of this diſeaſe known: from whence may be inferred, how great a preſervative againſt this evill the uſe of this drink is: it is alſo certain, that it powerfully delivereth from the oppreſſion of ſleep, whoſoever deſireth to watch, either for neceſſitie or pleaſure; for by ſuppreſſing the fumes it eaſeth the head without any inconvenience: and finally it is a known and admirable help for ſtudents. For the reſt I have not ſo great an aſſurance of it that I dare affirm it.

See a larger diſcourſe of the ordering of this leafe, and of the many vertues of the drink in the voyage and miſſions of Alexander *de Rhodes* (printed at Paris 1653. 1 part. 13 cap. its called alſo Tay.

There is found alſo in this Province a moſt evident ſigne of the ancient Chriſtianitie, which hath been there, as we ſhall relate in its order.

In the great Metropolis thereof we have a Church and a houſe, with a well founded and fruitfull Chriſtianity; by whom alſo many particular Oratories are frequented.

Rianſi is the third of theſe ſix Northern Provinces, which we are now diſcourſing of: It lyeth in the Latitude of thirty eight degrees; it hath many mountaines, which makes their Harveſt but poore: there is little wheate, leſſe Rice, but moſt Maiz: it is ſo aboundant in grapes, that it ſerveth the whole Kingdome with Raiſins, and might furniſh, at leaſt it ſelfe, with wine; as it ſucceeds in a Reſidence, which we have there, where we make now only enough for to ſerve the *Maſſes*, but ſend alſo ſufficient to the next Reſidencies. It hath wells of fire for the uſe of their houſes as we have of water in *Europe*, they ſeeme to be Mines of ſulphur ſet on fire; ſo that opening a little the mouth of the well, which muſt not

be very large, it ſendeth forth ſo great a heate, that they roſt and boyle therewith whatſoever meate they deſire. Their ordinary fewell, as likewiſe in all the confines thereof, Stone-coale, not ſmall ones, ſuch as are found in ſome of our Countries of *Europe*; but of a very conſiderable bigneſſe: There are Mines very fruitfull of this matter, which burneth with a great deale of eaſe. In ſome parts, as *Pekim* and *Honam* they lay it together in ſuch manner, that the fire laſteth day and night; They make uſe of Bellowes to kindle it.

We have a houſe and a Church in the City of *Kiamcheu*, another in that of *Phucheu*; which are viſited at their ſet times; both the one and the other have a good and numerous Chriſtianity, and among them, many of the Nobility. There are not wanting Oratories, (as in other Cities,) by which the ſcarſity of Churches is ſupplied.

The fourth Province which is *Xantun*, in the Latitude of 23. degrees, lying betwixt *Nankim* and *Pekim*, is very poore; it ſuffereth many times a loathſome and malignant Infeſtation by *Grillo's* or field-Crickets, and by conſequence, the terrible horrour of famine.

In the yeare 1616 a dogge bought to be eaten, was worth more than a young man ſold for a ſlave; it produceth ſtore of Cattell, and of our fruits; great peares, many and good. There groweth here in great number and varietie a fruit, which ſeemed to ſome of us to be a peare of a good kind, in ſo great aboundance, that filling the Kingdom, they overflow even to *Macao* although it be a great way off; and that there are three large Provinces betwixt.

Pekim is the fift Province, ſcituated in the Latitude of fourty degrees; it enjoyeth the priviledge of having the Court in a City of the ſame name. Though the proper name of it be *Xunthienfu*: by the *Sarances* called, *Lambalud*. This good fortune befell it, (for ſo I may call it) at the death of *Humvù*, when a nephew of his, named *Vunlo*, who dwelt in this Province, and was very potent, uſurped by violence the crowne againſt the right heire: And ſo confiding more in them, with whom he had alwaies lived, as alſo to be the better able to make reſiſtance againſt the *Tartars* which border upon him, he removed the Court from *Nankim* and planted it here. The people are leſſe ingenious, as commonly all Northern people are, but more apt for labour and warre.

The ſoyle is very drie, and favourable for health, but barren of fruits for the common ſuſtenance: But this want is ſupplyed by that generall prerogative of Courts which draw all to them, and overcome in this the proper nature of the place. It hath Maiz, Wheate, and little Rice, only for the uſe of the people of the Palace, which is very numerous, the *Mandarines* and Souldiers being many thouſands. The King keepeth in thoſe rivers a thouſand veſſels, flat-bottom'd by reaſon of the ſhallowneſſe of the water, which only ſerve for the bringing of victualls to Court; which they lade in the South: And in *Nankim* there is ſowen a certaine Rice for the King in particular, of ſuch a quality, that being ſodde in water, without any other addition it maketh a very ſavoury diſh.

The City is not ſo big as *Nankim*, but in that preſſe of people much exceedeth it; in a word, it is like the Court of ſo powerfull a Prince. The walls

walls are broad enough for twelve horſes to go abreaſt; They are guarded night and day, as well in time of peace, as if there were warre. At every gate they keep a continuall watch, which is the profit of the *Eunuchs*, which the Queen alloweth them for their wages; and they make good ſtore of crownes of this exerciſe: For all thoſe which enter, and bring any thing with them, pay toll; and thoſe of *Cantone* are uſed with moſt rigour, juſt like *Spanyards* in a french Inne: I know not the reaſon of this, but only a certaine indignation, which they have againſt them.

The Magiſtrates of this Court are quite contrary to thoſe of other crownes, and Commonwealths of the world, and are therefore a patterne of that uprightneſſe, which ought to be found in all: I meane, concerning the pompe and equipage of their perſons, which is very moderate. They are not allowed to be carried in a Sedan, or Chaire, unleſſe it be ſome few of more particular dignity: The greateſt part ride on horſe-back, and becauſe they are ill horſemen, their horſes are guided by two ſervants, that go by them, one on each ſide the horſe, leaſt their maſter ſhould fall.

Each Judge of a Village, without the precincts of the Court, uſe more ſtate, than the moſt eminent Miniſters in the Court: They walke in the ſtreets with their faces cover'd, as well by reaſon of the duſt, which is very much, as alſo for convenience, and to avoid both expence and ceremony with the *Mandarineſſe*; for not being knowne, they diſſemble, as if they ſaw them not, and make no ſtay; to verify that *Axiome*, that where one is leaſt knowne, there is more pleaſure and convenience to be enjoyed.

The cold, which this Countrie ſuffereth, is much greater than could be expected from the Latitude of 40. degrees. The rivers and lakes are ſo hard frozen over, that they drive Carts over them without any danger; they make uſe of ſtoves, that are more convenient than ours, and waſt not ſo much fewell, conveighing the heate by pipes laid under ground; and ſo within doores enjoy a pleaſant ſpring in the heart of winter. The ſame heate ſupplieth alſo the abſence of the ſun, and by meanes thereof the trees are clothed with leaves and flowers before their time.

In the Court we have a faire Church, built after the faſhion of *Europe*, and a houſe wherein reſide 4 fathers by licence from the King, and are in much eſteeme with all the Magiſtrates.

Beſides the Churches in all the places we have already ſpoken of, (the greater part whereof are large Cities,) there are alſo many other habitations of Chriſtians, which have their Oratories, which are viſited by us at ſet times, Catechizing and Baptizing the new Chriſtians, conferring and adminiſtring the Holy Sacraments to the others.

The ſixt and laſt Province is *Leaotùm* the Northern bound of that Kingdome; it is famous for a roote which it produceth of ſo high eſteeme, that at my departure from thence it was ſold for twice the weight in ſilver. It is ſo excellent a medicine, that if thoſe which are in health doe take it, it augments their ſtrength and vigour, and if it be given to a ſick perſon it doth marvellouſly comfort and warme him: it is called *Ginſem*. This Province being the frontire next Tartarium, is much waſted, and is in part poſſeſſed by the *Tartors*: here is ſeen that famous wall ſo much

talked off, which runneth nine hundred miles in length, with more reputation than effect : for beſides that its owne greatneſſe and extant is enough to make it ruinous, the enemy hath now reduced it to a miſerable condition.

CHAP. 4.

Of the perſons of the Chineſes : *of their nature, wit and inclination.*

THe people of *China* are, white, like us in *Europe*; although in the Province of *Cantone*, lying ſomething within the Tropick they are of ſomething a browner colour, and particularly in the Iſlands that lie neere the maine land. And becauſe thoſe which come hither are only ſuch as are borderers upon *Macao* (the Centre of thoſe Iſlands) ſome have been perſwaded that there were not in all that Kingdome any people very white : but it is certaine, that excepting the confines of *Cantone*, where they are ſomething brown, the reſt are all white; not unlike to the whiteneſſe of the people of *Europe*; and by how much the more Northward one goeth, by ſo much the more (as is uſually ſeen) is the whiteneſſe the greater.

They ſuffer the haire of their heads to grow as long as it will, both men and women. They are generally all black-haired; hence cometh that name, by which this Kingdome is called among other Nations the Kingdome of the black-hair'd people : they have alſo black eyes, which are very little, little noſes, and neither large, nor high ones, as among us; which forme they like not, accounting it a deformity. They have but little beard for the moſt part, nor doe they care to have much, although ſome of them have ſo. They delight to have it black, which is the moſt ordinary colour; although ſome few have red beards; which although it be not abhorred by all as among the *Thebanes*, yet it is not eſteemed or liked among them by any. They clippe not their beard, letting it grow according to nature. They will be more troubled to looſe one haire of their head, then all the haire of their face: They doe alſo, in neatneſſe and curiouſneſſe about their haire, exceed all other Nations. They have for this purpoſe many Barbers, of whom it may properly be ſaid, that they uſurp that name; it being derived from the beard, which they never touch; employing all their diligence and art in kembing and cleanſing the head.

The young children are better proportioned, and have a more pleaſing Simmetry of beauty than the reſt: and this more particularly in the Southern Provinces. But ſome places have the advantage in this above others; as in the Province of *Nankim*, the City of *Nancheu*, where the women are eſteemed to have the preheminence of all others in beauty; as formerly in *Portugall*, thoſe of the Towne of *Guimaranes*, from hence the rich men and the Magiſtrates provide themſelves with Concubines: and ſo this

this gift of nature cometh to be of greater esteeme for their sakes, who are the great men of the world. As their age beginneth to decline, from 25 to 30 yeares old, they loose not only much of the livelinesse of their colour, but also of the Simmetry and proportion of their shape: so that ordinarily they become ill-favoured. The disposition of their body is good; their strength vigorous; and they are great pains-takers: hence it cometh, that their land, which is very good, is by art brought to be much more fruitfull; and if there be any which is not good, although it be never so little (there being not a foot of ground, which is unemployed) by force of industry they bring it at length to be fruitfull.

As I passed by *Honum*, I saw one ploughing with a plough of 3 Irons, or plough-sheares, so that at one bout he made 3 furrowes: and because the ground was good for that seed, which we call here *Feazols* or Kidny-beanes; this seed was put as it were, in a bushel, or square dish fastened upon the upper part of the plough, in such manner, that with the motion thereof the Beanes were gently scattered upon the earth as corne falleth upon the Milstone, at the mooving of the Mil-hopper; so at the same time the land is plowed & sown with hopes of a future crop. Wheat, Barly and Maiz they sow as we do; & it is very ordinary for one that driveth a beast laden, to carry a load himself, that none might want employment.

They are watchfull to make their advantage of every thing, not suffering any thing to be lost, how unprofitable soever it seemeth: you may meet often upon a river many vessels of considerable burthen, laden only with weeks for lamps, made of the pith of rushes, taken out with a great facility and dexteritie; others, which carry nothing else but paper (give me leave to relate it, because it is a notable argument of the Providence and application, which they make in the use of all things) for cleanlinesse in their houses of office. This is sold in the streets as well as in shops, and may in no manner have any thing written upon it; for if it have any letters upon it, it is among them accounted sacriledge to imploy it to that use. But as the number of the people is so great, there are not wanting also among them idle persons and vagabonds, a common and irremediable plague.

They are naturally inclined to be Merchants, and it is incredible, the Traffick which they make, not only from one Province to another, with very great profit (so that they which transport *Porsellane* within their own Kingdom, although they sell it but from one Province to another, gaine thirty *per Cent.* twice a year) but even in the same City: For almost whatsoever is found in the shopps, is sold in the streets in a lesser quantity; employing in this trade even to little children, as far as they are able, as selling fruit, herbs, wash-bals, and such like things.

The rich Merchants are of good credit, and very punctuall, (as the *Portugheses* have had experience for many yeares together;) but their way of bargaining is fuller of craft, and subtilty, than is to be found any where else in the world: for whereas strangers are not allowed to enter into the Kingdom, they are all necessitated to treat with the *Chineses* in this manner. First they agree about the quality of the commodity, which each desireth whether it be gold, Silk, or *Porcellane*, or any thing

else

elſe; when they are agreed of the price, preſently the *Portugheſe* conſigneth to him a ſumme of mony, as of 15. or 20. thouſand, (or more) Crownes. Then the *Chineſse* goeth with this money to ſuch parts of the Kingdome where the commoditie may be had, which the other deſireth, and returneth with it to *Cantone*, where the *Portugheſe* ſtayeth expecting him. This manner of merchandiſing was practiſed for many yeares without any fraud; but a little while ſince there hath not been wanting ſome who have uſed deceit therein. And at this day the credit thereof is diminiſhed; as I beleeve, through the fault of both Nations.

Nevertheleſſe, the nature of the people and inclination of the whole nation, as well in thoſe who ſell, as thoſe who buy, is much inclined to guile and deceit, which they put in execution with admirable ſubtletie. They will take the fleſh from off the breaſt of a partridge, and fill up the hollow place with ſome other thing, and ſtitch up the cut, whence it was taken out, and all with ſo much maſtery and skill, that if the buyer be not an *Argus*, (and if he were, he ſhall finde no remedy) in ſtead of a partridge, he ſhall buy nothing but feathers and bones. Amongſt true Gammons of Bacon they will foiſt in others made of wood, but ſo like, that they will eaſily deceive the ſight for good ones. It is an ordinary thing to fat up an old horſe, and ſell him for a young one; and what is more, to paint him over with beautifull ſpots, ſo well done, as if they were naturall, chooſing for the time of ſale, the doubtfull light of the day towards the dusk of the evening, that the deceit may be the hardlier diſcovered: This cheate was put upon one in *Macao*, who notwithſtanding was an experienced buyer, and of good judgement.

The bewitching art of extracting the elements and principles from barren ſtones and hardeſt mineralls, which is ſpread through all parts of the univerſe, hath gained many practitioners in *China*; They are paſſionatly addicted to the art of *Aichimy*, with this opinion, that he that hath the art of making ſilver, is in the way to find the receit of prolonging life, unto extream old age. And how long will men give themſelves over to this fond perſwaſion, deceived with a vaine hope of obtaining theſe two things, ſo much deſired, ſo uncertaine? Many take great paines in this art, although they loſe much and gaine little; contrary to that which ſucceeds in all other trades, which is, to gaine much out of a little. Finally, either theſe men deceive themſelves, or find themſelves deceived by the profeſſours of this ſcience, who are often uncertaine and varying in their *Maximes*, which ought to be reall and conſtant; ſo that the event is alwaies dangerous and uncertaine. Many there are, which are followers of it, hoping to make gaine by their deceit, becauſe they dare not rely upon the certainty of their art.

There was one of theſe, which in *Pekim* offered himſelfe to a Magiſtrate, promiſing him great matters from his art. Covetous perſons are ordinarily credulous. He furniſht him with materialls to make his operation, amongſt which the other ſecretly conveyed a piece of ſilver, which he privily carryed about him to that intent, the ignorant Magiſtrate was well pleaſed with the product of it, he ſeeming to him a true ſonne of art. Then the work-man faining to have great occaſion to goe to another place,

deſired

deſired leave of him for ſome dayes, which the Magiſtrate with much adoe conſented to, becauſe his covetous deſire, being inflamed by that experiment, could not brooke a long abſence; But the *Alcyhmyſt*, (that uſed to fiſh in the ſilver ſeas of *Hydropicall* covetouſneſſe with thoſe deceitfull nets, with which he long entertained their hopes, but brought them in no profit) was abſent three whole yeares: at the end of which being returned to *Pekim*, he maketh, as if he knew not the houſe of this his friend, though he often paſſed by the doore; but being diſcovered by the Magiſtrate, he calls him in; who ſtill perſiſteth in his diſſimulation of not knowing him. The Magiſtrate queſtions him concerning the art, whereof he had made him an experiment: The other confeſſed, that he knew the art, but did not remember to have practiſed it in that place; alledging for his excuſe, that as he had done it in many places, ſo he could not remember them all. But without much intreatie, promiſed to doe it againe, to that intent the Magiſtrate giveth him 500. crownes to furniſh him with a ſufficient ſtore of materialls: Then the *Alchymyſt*, without asking leave as before, conveyeth himſelfe away, and never appeareth more. But for all theſe experiences there are ſtill enough, which doe hunt after this art.

But returning to our *Chineſſes*; they are Affable, courteous, and of good converſation: and therefore in this particular our men are not to be beleeved, which dwell only in *Macao* and *Cantone*, becauſe they are there, as it were, in a continuall warr, by reaſon of the daily contracts and contentions, which are betwixt the ſervants of the *Portugeſſes* and *Chineſſes*; beſides buying and ſelling produceth frequent diſguſts; and if thoſe of *Macao* do beare with them, becauſe they cannot help it, it is alwayes with hope to be paid with intereſt from thoſe of *Cantone*, when they come thither by occaſion of the faires: and ſo there cannot be a friendly and juſt traffick betwixt them, but they do treat one another almoſt like enemies.

But in the other Provinces and innermoſt parts of the Kingdom, as we have ſaid, they converſe with us with ſo much reſpect and *decorum*, that in all meetings with them they give us the firſt place, upon no other pretence, but that we are ſtrangers, and as they call us *Gueſts* of a remote *Climate*. In caſes of neceſſity, (which we have many times proved) they will not faile to lend us what we aske, although it be more worth than the pawnes we give them; and that without intereſt.

I am ſure there cannot be a worſer ſort of people, than is found in their priſons, for thither the dregs of the whole Common-wealth are drained, nevertheleſſe, we have found courteſie at the hands of thoſe wretches, who in ſuch places uſe to be very inhumane. Vpon occaſion of the perſecution which we ſuffered in the year *1616.* our fathers found in thoſe priſons much reſpect and correſpondence, and when the Officers of the priſon for feare of the Tyrant, did bind them and uſe them harſhly: it was alwaies with a great reſentment of the priſoners; who not enduring to ſee them ſtreightned with manacles upon their wriſts, did make them wider for them by burning them (their manacles being made of wood) with hot irons.

After a long time, theſe fathers being to be releaſed from one of theſe priſons, the priſoners conſulted among themſelves how to ſhew them ſome courteſie: and collecting what they were able, they entertained them with a banquet, which was more acceptable to the fathers, to ſee ſo much Humanity and kindeneſſe towards ſtrangers among Pagans, which were kept in that place, for the chaſtiſement of their crimes and ill manners, than for the good treatment they received. Thus much will ſufficiently demonſtrate the naturall courteſie and civility of this Nation.

Among them, all acts of cruelty are much abhorred; wherefore among their puniſhments there is not uſed that ordinary inhumanitie and ſeverity, which is among us, as Quartering; Tearing with pincers; dragging with horſes; and racking. He that deſerveth death, is either beheaded, or ſtrangled.

In the yeare 1614. in the City of *Nankim*, an ordinary fellow with more than ordinary inſolence did aſpire to the *Empire*. He had already liſted much people, and diſtributed offices among them, giving order, to cut off the heads of all the *Mandarines* in one day appointed for their *Rendez vous*. When the conſpiracy was diſcovered by a male-content, that was ill ſatisfied with his allotment, there was, upon this occaſion, impriſon'd almoſt an infinite company of people, which were diſcover'd by the Tyrants own book, wherein he kept a liſt of the conſpiratours: the king having notice of it, gave ſpeedy order, that no more ſhould be impriſoned: by a ſecond order he commandeth, that only thirty of the moſt guilty ſhould remaine in priſon for the ſpace of 30. daies with their heads in the ſtocks, and that at the end of 30. daies, whoſoever of them remained alive ſhould not be put to death. (There eſcaped only two of them;) which is ſtrange, that for ſo enormous a wickedneſſe, there was appointed no greater puniſhment.

When many are condemned to die, they are kept in priſon till the viſitour of the Province calleth them before him; and peruſing the liſt of them he appointeth 5, 6. or 7. of them to be executed: if he exceedeth this number, they give him the name of *Cruell*: The reſt are ſent back to priſon.

They are inclined to vertue; I doe not ſay they are exempt from vices, proper to all Pagans, and indeed to all Mortalls; But that they eſteeme thoſe, which make profeſſion of vertue; and particularly of ſome vertues, which are diſpiſed by other *Gentiles*; as, Humility, Virginity, Chaſtity; and this laſt is in ſuch eſteeme, that if a maiden, or young widdow, lead a ſingle life with that *Caution* and other vertues requiſite to it, they are wont to erect *Trium-phall Arches* to them, and celebrate their memorie with publick and magnificent prayſes and *panegyricks*.

Their manner of *entertainment* and *complements* are ſo *Ceremonious*, that there ſeemes to be no end of them; and are more proper for *divine worſhip*, than humane converſation. This is to be underſtood of their viſites, and their meetings and incounters, where reſpect is to be ſhewen: for amongſt kindred and friends they treat one another more familiarly. They are ſo compoſed in their garb, and wary in their words, that nothing can cauſe an open difference betwixt perſons

persons of *quality* one against the other, although both of them may bear a secret spleen and grudging. Hence it is, that capitall enemies may be seen together at *Banquets*, or other publick meetings without the least shew of *enmity*, dissembling it dexterously and couragiously under the *punctilioes* of civility and honour.

They magnifie very freely and readily whatsoever is vertuous in the Actions of their neighbours, couragiously beating down that emulation, which in almost all other nations suffereth none to be pleased with any but themselves. When they see any thing which cometh from *Europe*, although there be in it little art or ingenuity, it is by them commended with singular applause; and many times with this expression, O, say they; *These people are not like to us, dul and un-ingenious*. And sometimes of manufactures made in their own Kingdom, with which by reason of the vastnesse thereof, they are unacquainted, they will say, that they were not made there, but brought from *Europe*. A modesty indeed worthy to be envyed; and so much the more because it is seen in a people that exceed many others in their abilities, to the shame of those Nations, which have no eyes to see, but such as are infected with the disparagement of what they behold.

They are not lesse ingenious *Mechanicks*, than the *Manufactures*, which come from thence, shew them to be, although all which come, are not made by the best Masters.

They are very excellent in workes of *Ivory*, *Ebony* and *Amber*, especially in Eare-Jewels, pendants, and gallantries of Gold and Silver, for the ornament of women. They make chaines to admiration. There was one brought from thence to *Goa*, which consisting of 300 links, weighed not 3 ounces of go'd, and the work was so fine and small, that the links were hardly to be discerned. They have altogether relinquisht to *Europe* to be served in plate, there being scarce found among them a vessel of Silver of a considerable bignesse, no not in the *Emperors palace*; being content to eat in *Porcellane*, which is the only vessel in the world for neate and delightfull cleanlinesse. There Gold-thread is of lesse weight and worth than ours; they have a way of twisting of it about paper, which maketh it seem, as if it were right and massie, and is an admirable Artifice.

The workmanship of *Europe*, which they most admired, were our clocks; but now they make of them such as are set upon tables, very good ones, and will be able to do the like in small ones, if the price of them there did equall ours. Although they make some things, whose price would be excessive if we should cause them to be made here, Notwithstanding in the generall we do much exceed them in *manufactures* and *mechanick* Arts, except it be in that same *Charam*, which is indeed a singular Artifice.

It cannot be denyed, but that they are a people of an admirable Acutenesse; so that that may be worthily appropriated to them, that *Aristotle* so freely bestoweth upon all the people of *Asia*; saying, that *Asia* exceeded *Europe* in ingenuity; but was exceeded by *Europe* in valour; this beeing a thing so approved to us by experience.

There are many, which even to this day do call the *Chinesses*, *Barbari-*

ans as if they ſpake of the *Negroes* of *Guynea*, or the *Tapuyi* of *Braſile*. I have bluſht to hear ſome ſtile them ſo, having been taught the contrary by many years travels among them. Although the fame and manufactures of *China* are ſufficient to teach it us; it beeing now many years that we have heard the one; and ſeen the other. Tis a great ſhame truly: but although in this relation there are many things, which might ſatiſfie us concerning the ſubtelty of their wit, yet I wil give you one example in this following caſe:

A certain *Chaquen*, (that is, a viſitour of a Province, one of the moſt important *Employments* of the Kingdom) receiving of his viſits, after a few daies were over, ſhut up his gates, and refuſed to admit any further their buſineſſe or viſits; pretending for his excuſe, that he was ſick; This accident being divulged; a certain *Mandarine*, a friend of his, began to be much troubled at it; and with much ado obtained leave to ſpeak with him. When he was admitted, he gave him notice of the diſcontent, that was in the City, by reaſon that buſineſſes were not diſpatched: the other put him off with the ſame excuſe of his ſickneſſe: I ſee no ſignes of it, replied his friend; but if your *Lordſhip* will be pleaſed to tell me the true cauſe, I will ſerve you in it, to my utmoſt power, conformable to that affection I bear you in my heart: know then, replied the *Viſitour*, They have ſtollen the Kings ſeale out of the Cabinet where it uſed to be kept, leaving it locked, as if it had not been touched; ſo that if I would give audience, I have not where withall to ſeale diſpatches. If I ſhould diſcover my negligence in the loſſe of the ſeale I ſhall looſe, you know, both my *Government* and my life; ſo that I know not what to do, unleſſe it be to ſtand in ſuſpence, as I do, the which is but little avail to me, being more ſenſible than the people themſelves, of this delay of juſtice. Well perceived the *Mandarine* how terrible the occaſion of his retirement was; but preſently making uſe of the quickneſs of his wit, asked him if he had never an enemy in that City: he anſwered him, yes; and that it was the chief Officer of that City, that is the *Chifu* or governour, which of a long time had borne a concealed malice againſt him. Away then, quoth the *Mandarine*, in great haſt, let your *Lordſhip* command that all your goods be removed to the innermoſt part of the palace, and let them ſet fire on the empty part, and call out for help to quench the fire: to which the governour muſt of neceſſity repair with the firſt, it being one of the principall duties of his office. As ſoon as you ſee him among the people, call out to him aloud, and conſigne to him the *Cabinet*, thus ſhut as it is; that it may be ſecured in his poſſeſſion from the danger of the fire: for if it be he which hath cauſed the ſeale to be ſtollen, he will put it in his place again, when he reſtores you the cabinet; if it be not he, your Lordſhip ſhall lay the fault upon him for having ſo ill kept it; and your Lordſhip ſhall not only be freed from this danger, but alſo revenged of your enemie. The viſitour followed his councel, and it ſucceeded ſo well, that the next morning, after the night this fire was, the governour brought him the ſeale in the cabinet; both of them concealing each others fault, equally complying for the conſervation of both. Now if after this example the *Chineſſes* muſt paſſe for *Barbarians* as thoſe would have it, who have forced me to relate this

ſtory,

T. Crab Sculpsit

The true Portraiture of a Mandarine or Governour in China, and of the Lady his Wife . being exactly copied from two Statues brought and of from Macao by Capt.n William Bradbent .

ſtory, it muſt be upon the ſame account, on which others have ſaid as much of *Moſes*.

CHAP. 5.

Of the manner of their habit.

THe materials, of which they make ſeverall ſorts of ſtuffs and cloaths for the ſervice of their perſons, as cloathing, Beds, and other furniture of their houſes, are wooll, convaſe, (for they have no other ſort of linnen as I have formerly hinted) ſilk and cotton: of all which they have great abundance. Two hundred years before Chriſt they uſed garments with ſhort ſleeves, ſuch as the *Giapponeſes* uſe at this day; who are deſcended of them, and ſtill conſerve this ancient habit. This manner of garment continued here, untill the raign of *Hoan*: in the time of this King, who is much renowned amongſt them, (about 400 years after Chriſt,) that habit was altered, as well in the people, as the Officers, to that faſhion which is worn at this day: and is the very ſame throughout the whole Kingdom, although it conſiſt of ſo many and ſo large Provinces: nor can it be altered (no more than any other notable cuſtome among them) without the Kings particular Order. For theſe people, which we call *Barbarians*, have very well underſtood, that the changing of faſhions and cuſtomes in a Nation for thoſe of ſtrange Countries, is as it were, a preſage that that Country will at length be brought into ſubjection to that other, of whoſe faſhions and manners they are ſo enamoured: and we might for proofe hereof, (if there were occaſion) name ſome particular Countries among us.

Theſe faſhioned garments have been conſerved for ſo many yeares; and reach from the neck to the feet, being all open before; Theſe are for their under garments, and are made for to ſit cloſer to their bodies. Their upper garments are large and wider in compaſſe. And becauſe they uſe no buttons, they lap them before, one ſide over another, as our *Clergie* men doe their *Caſſocks*. Their ſleeves are very wide, and the whole garment without any trimming. A piece of white Taffatie of the length of ones hand ſerveth them for a band; when it is foule, they take it off, and put on another. This is only to be underſtood of the *Literati*, or learned men, and the people of quality; for the common ſort of people are not ſuffered to weare it.

The young men weare indifferently all ſorts of colours; but the *Ancient* men do weare alwaies the moſt modeſt. The common people for the moſt part are cloathed in black; as all ſorts of ſervants, who are bound not to alter that colour.

Thoſe who are *Governours*, or have *Governed*, upon occaſion of *Feaſts*, do weare garments of the fineſt red. The rich men change their garments at all the 4 ſeaſons of the year; and the inferiour ſort, (although poore) twice a year, at winter and ſummer: and upon this occaſion many pawn

that garment, which they weare in one ſeaſon to furniſh themſelves with a garment for the next.

Becauſe their haire is their chiefe gallantrie, we will ſpeak here a word or two concerning it. Their youth, till ſeventeen years of age, leave the ſhorteſt part of their haire hanging looſe, the other they combe back to the top of their head; where they tie it up in a knot. After that, age they weare a net of horſe-haire, which is like unto our Cawles, under which they gather up all their haire, not ſuffering one haire to hang out: on the top of this they all weare caps; the *Literati* ſquare caps, the reſt of the people, round: they are all made of ſilk, or elſe of horſ-haire, which by reaſon of the workmanſhip come often to be more coſtly than the other. They are alwaies to be black, unleſſe it be in the winter, when they weare them of felt, & are always gray, or elſe of the naturall colour of the wooll. At the firſt time any one putteth on this Cawle, it is done with a particular ſolemnitie, as we were wont anciently, at the firſt putting on of the cloake or ſword. For ſhoes, they know no other materialls, but ſilk of all ſorts and colours, for the rich; and for the poore, cotton: they are differing from ours in ſhape, and in the coſt, which is beſtowed upon them, having many little works wrought on them with the needle. Skins are uſed only for bootes, which are rarely ſeen there. The richer and better ſort of the people weare hoſe of *Damaske* or *Sattin*, or any ſort of white ſilk; the reſt of white *Cotton*. They weare breeches generally, both men and women. This is the habit of this ample Kingdome, being as large almoſt as all *Europe*, which hardly keepeth conſtant to its owne faſhions, in any of its ſmalleſt Provinces.

The women are decently habited with the ſame coates, (if I may ſo call them) which the men uſe; wearing them cloſe about their necks. Even the ordinary ſort of women are very curious in dreſſing their heads, adorning their haire with flowers, as well naturall as artificiall; having in this art a competition with nature; and with the varietie of colours, the forme and figure of them they do as happily deceive the eyes of the beholders, as the grapes of *Zeuxes*, did the ſparrowes; or to expreſſe it better, as the curtaine of *Parrhaſius* deceived *Zeuxes*.

The women of the *better* quality uſe gold and ſilver, the *Courteſans*, or *publique* women are not ſuffered to weare them; and it is a diſtinction to know them by, what they are, that they are not allowed to weare any ornament on their heads (contrary to the cuſtome of other Countries) nor to have their houſes within the walls. The reſt of their under-garments are the ſame both in men, and women, only their ſhoes are ſo little, that one might reaſonably doubt, whether ſo ſmall feete could belong to a humane body growen to a full ſtature: The reaſon of this is, that from their very infancy they ſwathe their childrens feet, ſo ſtreightning them to hinder their growth; and not (as we ſay in *Europe*) becauſe they are not ſuffered to goe: and although it be the common opinion, that it is a great part of beauty to have little feet, yet the more underſtanding *Chineſes* do hold this effeminacy to be a very great folly. It tooke its originall from one of their Queenes, who having ill-ſhapen feet, to mend that naturall defect, did ſwathe them, to bring them to a better forme: ſo that, what was

neceſſity

neceſſitie in her (if it may be called a neceſſitie, to mend ſuch feet, as might have ſerved well enough without it) it came to be a gallantrie in all women by imitation of her: ſo much ought *Princes* to avoid the making of themſelves *Authors* of ridiculous novelties.

The retirement of the women is very great. There is not a woman to be ſeen in the ſtreets, although in yeares; or never ſo blameleſſe in her life; neither are men ſuffered to viſite them at their houſes. That part of the houſe where they inhabit is, as it were, a ſacred place, for their ſakes. It is enough to tell any one who entereth unwillingly, *That there are women there*, to make him ſtop preſently.

The men-ſervants may enter thither only while they are *little* boyes. Into the very chamber where they are, not ſo much as their kindred, are allowed to come, unleſſe they be the younger brethren of the husband, of very ſmall age; no not the husbands father; with ſo much punctualitie, that if upon ſome particular occaſion he would chaſtiſe his ſon, (for although they are married, their fathers do chaſtiſe them, if they ſee cauſe) he retireth preſently to his wives apartment, which is an inviolable *Sanctuary*; the father being not to enter thither. If the women go out to viſite their parents, they are carried in *Sedans cloſe ſhut*; and this is the cuſtome of all their women, even to thoſe of the moſt ordinary *qualitie*. If they go on pilgrimage to any of their *Idolls*, and that it be neceſſary, that they go part of the way on foot, they cover their faces with a vayle. If they go by water in the Barks with their Parents and kindred (as I ſaw once above 200. upon occaſion of a *Pilgrimage*) they paſſe one before another without *ſpeaking* a word; beleeving that the leaſt overture that women give to the converſation of men is a large gate opened to the danger of their honour. This, which may be counted a harſh *Strictneſſe*, is turned into a pleaſaunt *Sweetneſſe* by cuſtome, (which maketh all things eaſie) as well for their repoſe, as for the peace and concord of the family.

Notwithſtanding in ſo large a Country as *China*, this cuſtome cannot equally be obſerved every where; ſo that in ſome parts, as I have above mentioned, the ordinary women go abroad as among us; but the women of quality alwayes obſerve that ſtile of retiredneſſe.

CHAP. 6.

Of their Language and Letters.

THe language which is uſed in *China* is of ſo great Antiquity, that many beleeve it to be one of the 72. which were at the Tower of *Babel*. At leaſt it is manifeſt by their books, that it is more than 3700. years in uſe among them. Is is various and different, becauſe there are diverſe Kingdoms, whereof this Empire is compoſed at this day; and anciently they did not belong unto this Crown, but were poſſeſſed by Barbarous Nations, as all the Southern Provinces and ſome of the Northern: But at this day the Language of *China* is but one only, which they call *Quonhoa*,

or

or the language of the *Mandarines*; for they at the ſame time, and with the ſame care and induſtrie, that they introduced their government into other Kingdomes, brought in likewiſe their language: and ſo at this day it runneth through the whole Country, as *Latin* doth through all *Europe*; but more univerſally each Province ſtill retaining their naturall ſpeech. It is a Language much limited; and as in the multitude of letters it exceedeth all others, ſo in ſcarceneſſe of the nounes which it uſeth, it is the leaſt copious of any: for it hath not in all aboue 326. and of words (which in reality are the ſame, but only differing in accent and aſpiration) 1228. Almoſt all end in vowels, and thoſe few, which do not terminate in vowels, end either in *M.* or *N.* They are all *Moneſyllables*, all undeclined, as wel verbes as nounes, and ſo accommodated to their uſe, that many times the verbe ſerveth for a noun, and a noun for a verb, and an adverb too, if need be. For which reaſon it is more eaſie to be learn'd than the *Latine*; the Grammar only whereof taketh up a childs whole time. The brevity of it maketh it full of æquivocal words, and for the ſame reaſon compendious. This which would be troubleſome to ſome, is very pleaſing to the *Chineſſes*; who are moſt particular lovers of brevity in ſpeech; being either imitatours, or imitated by the *Lacedemonians*. It is rather ſweet than harſh, and if it be ſpoken perfectly, (as it is for the moſt part, in *Nankim*) is very delightfull to the ear.

To ſay a thing with reſpect, with humility, and in applauſe of anothers merits, they uſe many excellent termes and phraſes, (which are the proprieties alſo of our *Portugeſſes* language.) And although it be a very narrow language, it is ſo ſweet, that it exceedeth almoſt all others that I know. To ſay among us: *Take a thing*, either with the whole hand, or with ſome particular fingers thereof, we are forced ſtill to repeat the verb take; but among them it is not ſo; each word ſignifieth the verb; and the manner too. As for example *Nien* to take with two fingers; *Tzo* to take with all the fingers; *Chuá* with the whole hand turned downwards; *Toie* with the hand having the fingers turned upwards; ſo likewiſe with the verb [*is*] as; he *is* in the houſe, he *is* eating, or *is* ſleeping: they have a word, wherewith at once they expreſſe both that he is, and, how he is. We, to ſay, the foot of a man, the foot of a bird or the foot of any beaſt, are forced alwaies to ſpecifie with the ſame word *foot*, but the *Chineſſes* do it with one word: as *Kio* the *foot* of a man, *Chua* the foot of a bird; *Thi* the foot of any beaſt.

Their ſtyle in their writing is very different; from their diſcourſe, although the words are the ſame: ſo that when one taketh the pen in hand for to write, he had need to raiſe up his witts; and it would be counted a ridiculous thing, to write as they ſpeak ordinarily. This is the reaſon, that all their pointed or accented reading, orating, diſputing, and perſwading, as well in publick as in private, is alwayes firſt practiſed and exerciſed with the pen.

The letters which they uſe, ſeem to be as Ancient as the people themſelves, for according to their hiſtories it is ſince the Invenſion of them 3700. years to this preſent year 1640, in which I wrote this relation. I wil be bold to ſay that this is one of the moſt admirable things in that

Kingdom

Kingdome: for the number of their letters being exceſſive, almoſt all have ſome skill in them, at leaſt as much as is ſufficient for the exerciſe of their trades; and though they are proper only to *China*, yet they are uſed in all the neighbouring Kingdomes, every one reading them in their owne language; as among us it is in the figures of numbers & of the ſtarres; which are the ſame over all *Europe*; and yet every nation calleth them by different names. They are very proper for Embaſſies, Bills, and Bookes. Theſe, although each Province have a different language, are common and underſtood of all, as if they had been written in their owne language.

The Author of theſe is ſaid to be *Fohi*, one of their firſt Kings. At the beginning they were fewer, and more ſimple, reſembling, in ſome reſpect, the thing that was expreſſed by them; for that which is pronounced *Gè*, and ſignifieth the Sun, was written with a circle, and a Diametrall line through it. Afterwards the form was ſomething varied, changing the circle almoſt into a ſquare, having the ſame line through it, and doth ſtill ſignify the Sun. This variety in making of their letters hath cauſed foure kinds of them. Firſt the *Ancient*, which remaineth ſtill in their Libraries, and is underſtood of all the *Litterati*, although it be no longer in uſe, except in ſome titles and ſeales, which they put in ſtead of Armes. The ſecond is called *Chincù*, and is the moſt current, as well in manuſcript, as printed bookes. The third they call *Taipie*, and anſwereth to the running hand uſed among our publick Notaries, not much in uſe, unleſſe it be in bills, contracts, pleadings, policies, and ſuch like things. The fourth is ſo different from the reſt, as well for the Abbreviations, (which are many,) as alſo for the different ſtroakes and ſhape of the letters, that it requireth a particular ſtudy to underſtand them. This word *Sie*, which ſignifieth to give thanks, is written after three moſt different manners.

Their letters are in all ſixty thouſand, enrolled in their *vocabulary*, which they call, *Haipien*, and may be rendred a *great ſea*. They have others more briefe; For to read, write, compoſe, and underſtand very well, about eight or ten thouſand letters will ſerve the turne: and when they meet with any letters, which they call a *cold letter*, they have recourſe to their *vocabulary*, as we do, when we meet with a *Latin* word that we do not underſtand. From hence it is evident, that he is moſt learned amongſt them, that knoweth moſt letters; as amongſt us he is the beſt *Latiniſt*, that is moſt verſt in his *Calipines-Dixionary*. To form all theſe multitude of letters, they uſe only nine ſtrokes, or touches of the pen: but becauſe theſe only would not be ſufficient for ſo great a fabrique, they do joine figures, or perfect and ſignificant letters, one into another; by which means they make other new and different ones, and of a different ſignification. So this line —— ſignifieth one: croſſed with another line ten, and having another ſtroke at the bottome ſignifying the earth, and with another ſtroke at the top of it it ſtandeth for King; adding a ſtroke on the left ſide of it between the two firſt ſtrokes it is taken for a precious ſtone, and by adding certaine other lines, it is meant for a pearle: And this laſt figure is every letter to have, that muſt ſignify a precious ſtone, or any other ſtone, that is of price and eſteeme, although not

counted precious. So every letter which ſignifieth any tree muſt have joyned with it the letter, which ſignifieth wood: and the letter that ſignifieth mettall, muſt be annexed to the figure which it is put to ſignify, as Iron, Copper, Steel; yet this is no infallible rule.

They have alſo, in the compoſition of their *Letters*, had reſpect to their ſignifications: and ſo that ſquare figure, which we ſpake of before, to ſignifie the *Sunne*, joyned with another very little different, ſtanding for the *Moone*, is called *Min*, and ſignifieth Brightneſſe. Another which hath the likeneſſe of a Portall, called *Muen*, ſignifieth a gate: there is another which ſignifieth a heart, to which it hath ſome reſemblance. Now if this letter be placed between the two perpendicular lines, which form the letter that ſtandeth for a Portall, it ſignifieth *Sadneſſe* and *Affliction*, that is, a heart ſtreightened and preſt in a narrow doore: and every word of *Sadneſs* muſt have a heart annexed to it.

They who write well, are held in great eſteeme; and they make more account of a good writing, than of a good picture. And for a ſet of ancient letters well ſhapen and formed, they do not care to ſpend a good ſumme of money: and letters from being firſt eſteemed, have come at length to be reverenced. They cannot endure to ſee a written paper lying on the ground, but preſently take it up; and in the childrens ſchooles there is a place appoynted for the keeping of them; and afterwards they burne them at certaine times, not out of religion, or ſuperſtition, as the *Turks* do, but only out of the reverence they beare to *Letters*.

Their way of writing is from the top of the paper downwards to the bottome, and beginning at the right hand of the paper proceed to the left, as the *Hebrewes* and all Eaſtern nations do.

They formerly made uſe of the inner barkes of ſome trees in ſtead of paper, as other nations have done. For a ſtile or pen they uſed certaine *Bodkins* of Iron, with which they dexterouſly formed their *Letters*. They wrote alſo many things on *Lamins* or plates of mettall, and alſo on veſſels of molten mettall; of which there are yet ſome remaining, which are held in no ſmall eſteeme by the owners, & all that ſee them. But it is now 1800 years ſince they have had the invention of paper, which is there of ſo many ſorts & in ſo great plenty, that I am perſwaded, that, in this, *China* exceedeth the whole world; & is exceeded by none in the goodnes thereof. That which aboundeth moſt, & is moſt uſed for printing, is made of a certaine Tree, which is called in *India*, *Bombù*, and in *China*, *Cio*, the art in making of it is like ours; but the beſt and whiteſt is made of Cotton-cloth.

In ſtead of pens they uſe penſills made of the haire of ſeverall creatures: the beſt are of thoſe of a *Hare*. They are more eaſie and convenient to write with than pens: the ordinary ones coſt three, foure, or five farthings; the beſt come to ſix pence a piece. Their *ſtandiſhes* are made of ſtone of ſeverall formes, and are commonly handſomely wrought, and of a ſmall price: yet they have ſome of thirty crownes a piece. In theſe they diſſolve the inke, which is made up in little molds and dried: The beſt is made of the ſmoake of oyle, which they gather by art: it is ſold at a ſmall price commonly, the deareſt being a crowne, or ſeven and ſix pence the pound; but the beſt of all from ten to twenty crownes. The *Artezans* which make it are not held for *Mechanicks*, ſo noble is this art eſteemed by

by them. They uſe ſometimes red ink, eſpecially in their *Annotations* upon books: and ſometimes (but very ſeldome) write with it. It is their greateſt care and ambition to have all their inſtruments of writing to be of rich materials, neat, proper, and in good order; with the ſame pride and delight, as the moſt accurate Captain or Souldier among us taketh in his armes.

In printing, it ſeemeth that *China* ought to have the precedence of other nations: for according to their books they have uſed it this 1600 years; but it is not (as I ſaid before) like unto ours in *Europe*. For their *Letters* are engraven in Tables of wood. The Authour of the book ordereth what kind of letter he will have, either great, little, or middle-ſized; or rather he giveth his manuſcript to the graver; who maketh his Tables of the ſame bigneſſe with the ſheets that are given him; and paſting the leaves upon the Tables with the wrong ſide outwards, he engraveth the letters as he findeth them; with much facility and exactneſſe, and without making any *Errata*: their writing not being on both ſides the paper, as among us, but on one ſide only; and the reaſon, that their books ſeem to be written on both ſides is, becauſe the white ſide is hidden within the fold.

They print likewiſe with Tables of ſtone; with this difference, that then the paper is made all black, and the letters remain white; becauſe when they print thus, they lay the ink upon the *Superficies* of the ſtone, but in the *Tables* of wood, they put it only in the hollow of the engraving. This laſt manner of printing ſerveth only for *Epitaphs*, Pictures, Trees, Mountains, and ſuch like things, whereof they do deſire to have the memories preſerved; and they have very many prints of this kind. The ſtones which ſerve for this uſe, are of a proper and particular kind; their wooden Tables are made of the beſt Peare-tree. So that any work which they print (as they do in great numbers) remaineth alwaies entire in the print of the *Tables*, to bee reprinted as often as they pleaſe, without any new expence or trouble in ſetting for the preſſe, as there is in our printing. Every one hath the liberty to print what he pleaſeth, without the *Superviſing*, *Cenſure*, or *Licence*, of any one; and with ſo ſmall charges, that for every hundred letters perfectly engraved in the manner aboveſaid, they pay no more than foure pence half-penny; and yet every letter conſiſteth of many ſtrokes.

CHAP. 7.

Of their manner of ſtudy, and admittance to examination.

THey are put to learn from their tender age. They have for beginners certain little bookes, containing good rules and precepts of vertue, good manners, obedience to their parents and ſuperiors, or ſome ſuch like

matter. A few months after, they give them *Classicall* books; which they get all by heart, both the *Text* and the *Glosse*, as perfect as we do our *Pater Noster*. After this, commeth the Masters explanation. They say their lesson likewise by heart, the Scholars back being turned towards the master with the book lying open upon the table, and they use no other phrase for saying their Lesson, but only *Poixú*, which signifieth, to turn their back upon the book, and this is done, that they might not cast their eies upon it to help themselves. They are kept to their studies with so much rigour, (even the youngest of them) that they are allowed no manner of recreation or divertisement.

Every day they write something, and their masters copy is laid under the paper, like the black line among us: and the paper being thinne and transparent, the letters easily appear through, which the boy that learneth doth easily imitate, forming other letters like those, which hee seeth under his paper; and by using this for some short time, he becometh accustomed to the fashion of his Masters hand, which he imitateth after this manner. Therefore after some time spent in this exercise, they write one line upon the Masters copy, and another upon the blank paper by the side of it; for, as I have said, the lines are made from the top of the paper to the bottome, till at length, when they can well imitate the copy, they give over writing upon it. In fine, they take very much paines to gain a good hand in writing; for, in their examinations, where their compositions are copied, it is sufficient to have their *Grace* denied, if there be but found one ill-shapen letter, before their exercise be read; they presuming; that no man can be learned, if he read, or write ill; although among us there be many examples to the contrary. For it is wel known, that the excellent Doctour *Navarro* wrought a very ill hand, & our *Bartolomeo Philippo*, a singular Scholar, writ so perfect an ill hand, that to the universall grief of all learned men, his most learned works were lost; although they were many, and no doubt, full of most admirable knowledge, because there was not found any one, that was able to read them; as may be perceived by those workes of his, that have escaped out of that pernicious *Chaos*.

Next; when the *Chinesses* have learned a good quantity of their letters, and have had some acquaintance with their books, they are instructed in the rules of composition. First, they give them some disordered compositions, which they are to reduce into order; then some abbreviations for them to enlarge upon, and afterwards in due time they give them only the point or Theme; in like manner they do, at their examinations. And because every three years the most approved compositions of those, who have taken degrees, are put in print, others take great paines in them, and get as many of them by heart as they are able,

They have no *Universities*, where they study together; but all, that are able, take a Master into the house for their sonnes, and sometimes two, if there be much difference between their childrens ages. This Master is alwaies with them without any interruption, and teacheth them not only *letters* and *sciences*, but whatsoever concerneth *Civill government, good manners, moralitie*, and the way how to carry themselves in every thing.

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If they are persons of *Quality*, the Scholar never goeth abroad without his Master, who serveth to instruct him in all *Civilities*, and good behaviour; particularly in visits; where, as there are many *Ceremonies* used, there is something of difficultie; and they might easily commit an errour, if their Master did not help them. And without doubt, this way is most decent for their reputation, and more profitable for their studies, and lesse exposed to those venemous practises and company, which are apt to teach them such customs, as infect their minds; and spoile the *Decorum* of a *Gentleman*; and much more in *China*, where, if any one have this evill fame, he cannot be admitted to examinations.

There are nevertheless many Schools for children of a meaner condition; where the Masters have this good quality, that they receive no more than they are well able to teach, that they might not go from them, as if they had never come thither; as it falleth out too often in *Europe*, where each Master endeavoureth to have many Scholars, rather for his own gain than their advancement. For indeed a man, let him be never so able, is but still one man; whence it commeth to passe, that some of their Schollars know the School, but are not known of it. This inconvenience is avoided in *China*: each taketh no greater charge upon him, than he is well able to give an account of; and each Master admitteth no more Scholars, than he can well teach. He is with them all the day long, behaving himself with much gravitie; neither do they ever go out of the School, unlesse it be at meales; and if any one of them doth live far off, his dinner is brought to the School. Their play-daies and time of *vacation* are only fifteen daies at the beginning of the new year, and some few daies in the *fift* and *seventh* moon: and as there are there no *Holy-daies*, they make all the rest of the year an un-interrupted application to their studies. So sensible are they of this truth: That it is necessary to take very great paines to bee learned; and, that seldome any one passeth with the reputation of a knowing man, without much labour and industrie.

When they are grown up and past these rudiments, and their parents are not able to provide a master for each in particular; some of the kindred and neighbours joyne together, and take a master in common, who dyets with them day by day in course, and receiveth his *Salary* from them all, which is not much; but more or lesse according to the custome of the Countries, and may amount each year to 40 or 50 Crowns; the common *Salary* being from ten to twenty crownes: besides the presents which they make them at certaine feasts, consisting of stockings, shoes, and such like things. At meals (although it be in the houses of persons of the greatest quality) they are to sit with the father of the scholar, or at least with the scholar himselfe. Many times they study not in their fathers house, having others more proper for that occasion, either within or without the City, but never farr off: and as much as they can, avoyd their owne houses, knowing well that the multitude of people, and the respect which is payd to their quality at home, are capitall enemies to study: hence it cometh to passe in other Kingdomes, that the sonnes of Lords and great men

do

do for the moſt part, prove great *Ignorants:* As if the greateſt *Nobility* did not conſiſt in the greateſt *knowledge*.

There are ordinary Maſters without number, for there being ſo many that pretend to the degree of a *Literato*, and ſo few that attaine to it, the greateſt part are conſtrained to take upon them the imployment of a ſchoolmaſter; ſo that to ſet up a ſchoole the year following, they go about to get ſcholars for that time, from the beginning of the preſent year, but in great houſes they commonly receive none for Maſters, but ſuch as have taken the degree of Batchelour, who continue the courſe of their ſtudies with a deſigne to take their other degree.

When they have taken any degree, although it be but only of *Batchelour*, they are then no longer under a Maſter, but forme a kind of *Academie*, as it were, among themſelves; where they meet at certaine times every month, one of them openeth a book, and giveth a point or Theme, upon which all of them make their *Compoſitions*, which they afterward compare among themſelves.

Although they have no *univerſities* and particular ſchooles, nevertheleſſe they have generall ſchooles, which are very capacious and magnificent, and moſt richly adorned, for the examiners, and thoſe that are to be examined; of which there is a wonderfull great number. Theſe ſchooles are in the Cities and Townes, but the moſt ſtately ones are in the *Metropolies* of the Provinces, where the examination of *Licentiats* is held. Theſe fabriques are of a bigneſſe proportionable to the multitude of people which flock to them. The form is almoſt the ſame in all. Thoſe of *Cantone* are not bigge: becauſe they admit not of above foure-ſcore, to take their degree; whereas in others, there are admitted from an hundred to a hundred and fifteen, which is a great difference. The whole ſtructure is compaſſed about with a wall, having a faire and ſumptuous gate towards the South, opening into a large ſtreete, where a numerous multitude are gathered together. This ſtreete or *Piatza* is 150. Geometricall paces broade, each pace conſiſting of five foote: There are no houſes in it, but only porches and walks with ſeats for the captaines and ſouldiers, who are there aſſiſting all the time of the examination, and keep a ſtrong guard. At the firſt entrance, there is a great Court, where do ſtand the *Mandarines* of the firſt poſt, with a Court of guard within the gate; then preſently appeareth another wal with a gate, made like thoſe of our Churches, and openeth & ſhuts in two leaves or pieces, when it is not convenient that all ſhould be opened: when you are paſt that gate, there appeareth a large place, in which there is a pond of water, extending from one tide to another, over which ſtandeth a ſtone bridge of perfect Architecture, which endeth at another entrance or gate, guarded by Captaines, which ſuffer none to go in or out, without expreſſe order from the officers. After this gate followeth another very ſpacious Court, having on each ſide rowes of little houſes or chambers for the perſons that are to be examined; placed on the Eaſt and Weſt ſide thereof. Every chamber is foure palmes and an halfe long, (every palme is nine inches Engliſh) and three and a halfe broade, and is in height about the ſtature of a man: they are covered with Tarraſſe or Playſter in ſtead of Tyle; within each of them are two boards,

boards, the one faſtened to ſit downe on, the other moveable for a Table: which after it hath ſerved them to write upon, they make uſe of, when time is, to eate on. There is a narrow entrie, which leadeth to them, that admitteth but of one man a breaſt, and that hardly too; the doores of one row open toward the backſide of the other.

At the time of the examination; there is a ſouldier to aſſiſt in every one of theſe little chambers, to guard and ſerve the perſon to be examined; ſitting under his little Table: They ſay, he hath a gagge of wood in his mouth, that he ſhould not ſpeak and trouble the ſtudent. But if it be in his power to remedie it, it is not likely, that he doth entirely complie with his obligation.

At the end of this narrow entrie I ſpake of, is raiſed a Tower upon foure Arches with Baluſters without on all ſides, within which there is a *Salone* or great Hall, where do aſſiſt ſome officers and perſons of reſpect, who ſtay there to give account of what paſſeth in all the little chambers, which they have placed in their ſight. At the foure corners of this Court are foure great Towers, with their Bell or Drum, which is ſounded, as ſoone as there happeneth any noveltie or diſorder, to give notice thereof to whom it doth concerne. Nigh to theſe Towers are other Buildings with a large Hall, furniſhed with ſeats and Tables, and other neceſſaries for the buſineſſe that is to be performed there; which is the firſt examination of the compoſitions; at which the more ordinary officers do aſſiſt, ſitting in thoſe ſeates.

Going through the Hall by the gate which looketh Northward, there is to be ſeen another Court, and preſently another Hall of the ſame form; but the furniture thereof is more rich and coſtly, it ſerving for the *Preſident*, and more honourable officers. Then follow likewiſe other appartaments and lodgings for the ſaid perſons, and for all the other officers and examiners; every appartament hath a Hall, ſeats and Tables to negotiate and eat at; a chamber with a bed, and Canopie of ſilke, and other houſhold-ſtuff proper to that end they are deſigned for. There is alſo a walke with little gardens and low Trees. There are alſo joyned to theſe, other leſſer chambers for Notaries, Secretaries, Pages, and other officers of their families; beſides theſe there are other chambers for the *Mandarines* and inferiour officers, and for their ordinary ſervants, with Butteries, Larders, Kitchins, and whatſoever is neceſſary for the accommodation of ſo great a multitude; every thing being diſpoſed and ordered even to admiration.

Anciently the nobilitie and kindred of the King were not admitted to any ſort of office or publique charge; no, nor thoſe of them that ſtudied, were allowed to come to the examinations, to take their degrees. About 20 yeares ſince, after many earneſt ſolicitations made by them, and oppoſitions by the contrary part, they had the priviledge granted them, to be admitted to all examinations; and the examiners are obliged to confer degrees on ſome of them, but not to many. The common people of all ſorts and all vocations are admitted, except thoſe that are infamous, as the ſervants of the *Mandarines* (not their houſhold Servants, but thoſe which ſerve them in their Tribunalls and Courts of juſtice;) Sergeants, Bayliffs,

Bayliffs, Catchpoles, Rogues, Executioners, and guardians of their publique women, called *Vampa* Likewiſe thoſe are not admitted, againſt whom lyeth any tax, or accuſation of ill manners, untill there be ſatisfaction given of their amendment.

They have three ſorts of degrees *Sieueai*, *Kiugin*, *Cinſù*; and that we might the better underſtand them, I might ſay, that after their manner they are anſwerable to our *Batchelour Licentiate*, and *Doctour*, each degree having their ſeverall enſignes and badges of honour. Thoſe that are only ſtudents, and have taken no degree, have not any particular priviledge belonging to them, but only are reſpected as Gentlemen, and the people honour them, as the lights of their Country, ſo much is knowledge eſteemed among them, who know, how to honour that, which doth truly deſerve eſteeme.

CHAP. 8.

Of the manner of their Examinations, and how their degrees are conferred.

THe order and manner, that the *Chineſſes* obſerve in their examinations of perſons that take their degrees, is very curious. It is to be ſuppoſed, that in theſe examinations, from the firſt of the ſimple ſtudent, to the laſt of the Doctour, conſiſteth the buſineſſe of the greateſt importance of this Kingdome: for on theſe depend the degrees and offices both of honour and profit, the only marke, at which mortalls aime with their chiefeſt attention. In a word, if there be an employment, wherein theſe two are coupled (a conjunction which the old proverb hath ſentenced to be very difficult) certainly it is this. We will begin at the beginning, that is what is performed by the meere and ſimple ſtudents.

Before the examination there is firſt ſpread abroad a report, that there will be one, till at length it be publiſhed by *Authoritie*. Becauſe the degrees which are conferred, and thoſe which pretend, are many, it is not convenient that ſo great a multitude ſhould be admitted to the examination of the *Chancellour*: and to the end that both the fit and unfit ſhould not enter at that examination, there is an order in the Province, that thoſe which are to enter, ſhould be proved firſt by two Antecedent examinations in their City or Towne, after this manner. Every Judge in his Territorie doth publiſh an examination, and appointeth a day for the meeting of all the ſtudents of his Precinct. And becauſe ſometimes the place of the publick univerſitie is not ſufficient for the reception of ſo great a multitude, they fill a large field with ſeats and Tables; and there the examination is held. The Judge giveth the poynt upon which they are to compoſe. They begin in the morning and are allowed time till night; They give in but one compoſition, and when they have finiſhed it, they conſigne it to the proper officer; who, putting them together, examineth them all along with great diligence; and chuſing out the beſt, cauſeth the name of their compoſers

compoſers to be written: this roll of their names is ſtuck up upon the wall of his Palace; by which it cometh to be known, who they are, that are allowed to paſſe to the ſupream examination; and this allowance they call, *Having a name in their Village.*

The compoſitions thus allowed are carried by the Officer, in perſon to the Governour of the City: and the ſame do all the judges of Townes, each within his own juriſdiction; and each City in its Villages; each City being divided into two Villages, with their particular judges, beſides the Governour of the City. And all the ſtudents of the Country, that have been already allowed of, being aſſembled together, enter into the generall place of the City; where the Governour of the City examines them again, and giveth them a new point, after the ſame manner, as was given them in the Village with this difference; that they uſe more care, rigour, and diligence, and admit leſſe of the Interceſſion of friends, who are ready in all places to pervert the truth. Of theſe the governour chuſeth 200, and giveth their names to the *Chancellour*, who putteth them the third time upon the ſame examination, almoſt in the ſame manner; and chuſeth out amongſt them about 20 or 25, upon whom he conferreth their degree; ſo that being ſifted three times moſt exactly, they come at length to be but few in number. Then are given them their enſignes and priviledges, with an advertency of their ſubordination, not only to the *Chancellour*, but alſo to the *Prefects*; who are two in each City; and are called *Hioquon*; that is, *Mandarines* of the ſciences. Their office is to obſerve and ſpy out the deportment of each; and to chaſtiſe thoſe, that behave themſelves amiſſe; and (which is more) they may examine them a new, if they pleaſe, and as often, as they think good.

The *Chancellour* is bound by his office to ſend through the Province, and to aſſemble within the Cities all the Ancient *Batchelours*, and to examine them, to find whether they ſtudy; or elſe addict themſelves to other imployments different from their profeſſion. He rewardeth the diligent, and caſtiſeth thoſe that are idle, in this manner: when they are all gathered together in the generall Palace, he giveth them a point for their compoſitions; the which being ended, their papers are divided into five *Decuries* or *Claſſes*; to thoſe of the firſt he giveth praiſe and rewards; the ſame or little leſſe is done to thoſe of the ſecond; Thoſe of the third *Claſſe* are paſſed by in ſilence; thoſe of the fourth he chaſtiſeth; thoſe of the laſt *Claſſe*, he depriveth of their degrees, priviledges, and enſignes of honour, and turneth them back to be rank'd among the common people: yet nevertheleſſe with liberty to return again, for their degrees, to their examinations. Of the firſt ſort are choſen the ableſt to the number of 40. For each City, and 20 for each town; and although they have not above eight Crowns penſion a man, they ſtand the King, through the whole Kingdom in 300000. Crowns. This employment is very great; for the Cities are 444; the Villages 1250. This is that which a *Batchelour* is obliged to do, to obtain his degree: let us now ſee, what is required of a *Licentiate.*

The examination of theſe is held every three years, in the chief City of each Province, upon the ſame day through out the whole Kingdom;

which uſeth to be in the eighth moone; and commonly falleth out to bee about the end of our September, or beginning of October. The examination laſteth about 25 or 30 daies; although they, that are to be examined, are not held to it above three daies only; and thoſe are the ninth, the twelfth and the fifteenth of the aforeſaid month. The chief examiners are the greateſt Officers of the whole Province, beſides others of that precinct who are aſſiſtant to them: But above all, the Preſident; who commeth, even from court, purpoſely to his Province. Theſe are the firſt, that do aſſemble in the general Palace; and with them their Secretaries, notaries, and other people appointed both for their Guard and ſervice; and likewiſe Phyſitians, for fear they might have need of them; becauſe, whileſt this action laſteth, no perſon is permitted to come out, or in, to them.

Without, there remaineth a vigilant Officer, to provide whatſoever is required from within, only the *Chancelor* is here excuſed from this confinement, becauſe he is the common maſter of all the Batchelours. There are ſome, which are ſo infallibly certain of their knowledge and abilities, that there was one in *Kiamſi*, who, after the ſtudenrs were locked up for their examinations, made a liſt of thoſe whom he conceived, ſhould receive their degrees, and having ſet it up in publick, he erred only in ſix, of an hundred and fifteen, which were elected.

When the Officers are aſſembled, the ſtudents (which in the larger Provinces and Univerſities exceed rhe number of 7000) make their appearance, at nine of the clock in the morning, keeping their order, and without any contraſt; (as it often happeneth at the examination of Batchelours, with ſuch confuſion, as is often the occaſion of undecent and unfortunate accidents, and ſometimes murders, as I once ſaw in the City of *Sumkiam* in the Province of *Nankim*, and in that of *Kiamſi*.) At their entrance they are all ſearched, to find what they carry about them; and if the leaſt paper be but found about any one of them, he is preſently excluded. And for the leſſe trouble in ſearching of them, they are all obliged to wear their hair looſe and hanging down, their leggs naked, and ſhoes made of cord, their garment without lining, or any fold whatſoever, with their inke-horne and penſels about their necks; (for as we have ſaid before, they uſe no other pens, but thoſe.) As ſoon as they are entred, they retire into thoſe little chambers, we ſpake of before; each into one, with his ſouldier to watch him, who ſitteth at his feet under his little table. Then they lock up the gates, ſetting their guards of Souldiers; who keep ſo ſtrict and rigorous a watch, that during the examination, they do not ſuffer any one to paſſe through that ſtreet; much leſſe do they permit any one to go out.

Then preſently are the points expoſed, which the Preſident hath already written in large letters on white Tables of *Charam*; the which hang publickly at the four corners of the croſſe way between the little houſes; ſo that every one may ſee them from his own chamber, the Points or Theames are ſeaven; four out of the four laſt books of their Philoſopher which are common to all; and three from every *Kim*, that is, out of every part of his books of ſciences; each ſtudent neceſſarily profeſſing only one of them.

Vpon

Vpon each point the ſtudent is to write briefly, Elegantly, and ſententiouſly; ſo that every one is to make ſeven compoſitions, which are to be written in a faire and well ſhap'd letter, without any Abbreviation. If they afterwards mend or correct any thing, they are to write underneath, in what line that Emendation is made. They make two copies of their compoſitions; the one ſubſcribed with the name and Sirname of their Father and Grand-Father, with the years of their own age, together with an Inſcription, as ſeemeth good to each of them. Theſe they ſeale up with the Inſcription only on the outſide: preſently they conſign the open copies to the officers appointed to receive them, and then go their waies. The ſealed copies are kept according to their number in a place appointed for them; the open copies are given to certain Notaries, who copy them out in red letters, that the compoſers hand might not be known; and after that, they are given to the Examiners, who diſtributing them among themſelves, do, the two following daies, examine and review them, with ſo much rigour, that the leaſt errour is ſufficient to exclude the ſtudent. I ſhall give you a pleaſant example.

Among their letters, there is one called *Ma*, which ſignifieth a horſe: this is compoſed of a perpendicular line croſſed with three others, and underneath hath a ſtroke, which endeth with a concavity like to our letter S. In this concavity they put 4 pricks in a row, one after another. In ſtead of theſe four pricks when they write with Abbreviation, they put only one line. Now there was a ſtudent, who in his compoſition wrote it after this laſt manner; and although his compoſition were excellent, yet becauſe he had not writ this letter after the firſt manner, the examiner ſent him away with theſe words, *without four leggs the horſe cannot go.*

When that is done; they let up, on the outward wall, a large catalogue of the names of ſuch, who have made any fault in their compoſitions, which ſerveth for advice to them, to return home to their houſes, which they preſently do partly out of ſhame, and partly out of neceſſity, becauſe they will not be ſuffered to enter at the following examinations.

The ſecond time they enter again, on the twelfth day of the month, where they are proceeded with as before, excepting that they give them only three points, concerning ſuch doubts and difficulties as may occurre in matter of government; to underſtand, how they would behave themſelves in it, and how they would adviſe the King. Then again upon the through examination of theſe ſecond compoſitions many are ſent away and excluded from the third examination: to which they enter on the fifteenth day of the month; and have only three points given them concerning the lawes and ſtatutes of the Realme. When the compoſitions of this laſt examination are received, they ſhut up the generall Palace for fifteen daies, more or leſſe; and during that time, by comparing and chuſing the beſt, they are reduced to a ſmall number, who do really deſerve the degree. Then they conſign them to the *Preſident*, who maketh the laſt ſcruting, and ranketh them in their places and order, there being a great difference in being of the firſt, or of the laſt; not only for their reputation, but alſo to be the ſooner provided of ſome good place or office.

After this laſt diligence is ended, which is uſed about the copies of the compoſitions, preſently they open the originall compoſitions, that were ſealed and laid by, that by the Inſcriptions they might find out the names of the Authours; which they write down in certain claſſes according to their merits. This catalogue is expoſed to the view of innumerable people, who are ſtaying without to expect it; ſome for their Son or Brothers ſake, ſome for their Father or Friend, ſome for their Maſter or Patrone; and ſome only to ſatisfie their curioſitie.

At the time when theſe names ſtand expoſed, being written in very large letters, from the top to the bottom of a long paper, two palmes and a halfe broad, there ſtand ready without, juſt ſo many horſes which are to carry thoſe that receive their degree of *Licentiate*; each horſe being marked with his number. of 1. 2. etc. And to every one of thoſe ſervants, who are appointed to lead the Horſes, there is given a ticket, with the name of the Graduate, and the number of that place, which belongeth to him. Who preſently runneth to ſeek him out (it being not eaſie to find him, becauſe they do yet ſtand retired) to give him notice of his election, and to beg ſome reward of him, and ſo ſtaies with him to wait upon him, till he departeth to go to the Court.

The ſtudents having notice given them of their promotion, come all on horſe-back to the Palace-general, every one in his order; where the *Proveditor* and Miniſter of the Kings Exchequer-chamber, ſtandeth ready expecting them, with the enſigns of their dignitie, as the Cap, Gown, Tippit, and Boots, which he ſolemnly putteth upon them, and when they are thus adorned, they go preſently to give thanks to the *Preſident* of the examinations: who receiveth them on foot, and treateth them, as his equals, though he be alwaies to them in the ſtead of a Maſter: and they do ſo depend on him; and bear him ſuch extraordinary reſpect, that it is a thing almoſt incredible to be related. Among them is ſo much love and amity, as if they were really brethren; for they are called brothers of the examination; and like ſuch do they reſpect one another. After follow diverſe ceremonies, and ſeverall banquets preſented by the Officers altogether. They are three in all, as I remember, and are all very ſumptuous, but the third is of ſome profit alſo: for in this, there is ſet to every one of them three tables; the firſt covered with diverſe meates; the ſecond with hens, fowle, veniſon, and other fleſh, which is to be all raw; the third with dryed fruits: and all this is to be ſent home to their houſes, that they might ſpend it there, at their own pleaſure and diſcretion.

Aſſoon as theſe men have obtained their degree, they become preſently great, honoured, nay adored; and, I know not how, ſuddenly rich. After this, they go no longer on foot, but either on horſ-back or in a Sedan. And not only the graduate, but his whole family, change their condition, and he beginneth to think of purchaſing his neighbours houſes, and to build himſelf a Palace. This will yet ſeem more wonderfull to him, that knoweth, that many of them come out of their countries a very great way on foot, carrying at their backs, that habit, which they are to wear in the City; having ſometimes their hands daubed with clay, wherewith they lately were mending up their poor cottages: of which ſort of blades I have ſeen ſome come to *Nankim*. Theſe

Theſe ſolemnities being ended, the Graduates preſently prepare to go to Court, to be made *Doctours*; and if they will take any government upon them, they are preſently provided with ſome place or other: But if they accept of any government, they loſe their pretenſion of being examined afterward for Doctour. Although there is none who at firſt doth not attempt it; But if any one doth not ſucceed in it, and begin to be ſomewhat in years, having a mind to put himſelfe preſently into the world, he accepteth of a Government, having only the title of a *Licentiate*, but ſuch very ſeldome come to very high preferments; although there have been found ſome of them, who have had the good fortune to be advanced to the quality of *Vice-roy*. For this journey to Court they have every one of them given them 80. crownes, out of the Kings exchequer, to bear their charges: and it is very certaine (as I have been informed by ſome *Chineſſes* of credit,) that the whole expences, which every *Licentiate* ſtands the King in, from the time he taketh his degree, till he cometh to be placed in the Court amounteth to 1000. crownes; which throughout the whole Kingdome, (according to my account,) maketh a million and halfe of crownes. So much doth it coſt the Prince in the forming of his wiſemen, and making them capeable of the Government of his crowne: ſo great a reward doth he propoſe to them, that they might aſpire to be ſufficiently learned.

The *Licentiates*, who are made every three yeare, throughout all the Provinces, are about fifteen hundred, more or leſſe; and this is no great number in reſpect of thoſe, which procure their degree in all the generall Palaces. In that of *Cantone*, which is one of the leaſt, having not above 7500. little chambers in it, the compoſitions of the firſt day are about 96148. from whence may eaſily be inferred, how great the number of the pretenders is. And now we will give a particular chapter, concerning the ſupreme degree.

CHAP. 9.

Of the degree of Doctour.

THe degree of *Doctour* is ſolemnly conferred at the Court, in the ſecond Moone of the yeare, which anſwereth to our month of March. They proceed in it according to the ſame form, which was obſerved in the degree of *Licentiate*; excepting that the enſignes of honour are different, and the examiners of greater qualitie; they being the chiefe of the royall Colledge called *Hanlin*, and their *Preſident* is alway the *Colao*, the greateſt dignitie, next the King, of this Empire: although he differently exerciſeth the charge of *Preſident*; for, in this Tranſaction, they of the royall Colledge have a definitive vote; and the compoſitions being diſtributed among them, after the firſt election, they, who are elected and approved by them, cannot be refuſed or rejected by the *Preſident*.

All the *Licentiates* of the Kingdome are admitted to this examination, as well the old ones, as the new. And anciently there was no precedent

examination

examination to inable them for this admittance; becauſe it was accounted ſufficient to be a *Licentiate*, to have entrance at the examination of *Doctors*: But becauſe among their compoſitions there were many ſo ill made, that it was time loſt to read them, and did render the compoſers incapeable, not only of the degree of *Doctour*, but likewiſe of pretending to it; therefore about 15. years ſince, there was introduced another examination for the receiving of them, which is in practiſe to this day: from whence it happeneth, that many are not received, to their great ſhame and ſorrow: which is a wholeſome inſtruction to others not to ſpend their time in feaſting and recreations.

In this examination are to be choſen 350. upon whom the degree of *Doctour* is conferred. The enſignes of honour, excepting the Bootes, which are the ſame in all, are very different from thoſe of the *Licentiates*, both in coſt and ornament. They have alſo a girdle given them, which they alwaies weare in their places of Government, which are beſtowed upon them; but is more rich and precious, according to the offices they are advanced to. When they have received their degree, and put on their enſignes of honour, they all aſſemble, within a Hall of the Kings Palace prepared for that purpoſe, where they are examined the ſecond time in one only compoſition, the poynt being about the Government and employment which they are to be admitted to. At this examination, in former times the King did uſe to aſſiſt in perſon; but now there aſſiſteth a *Colao* in his name.

The examination being ended, they paſſe into another Hall, where the new *Doctours* do make their reverence to the King, and preſently the *Colai* preſents to him three of them, which have obtained the firſt places; then the King with his owne hand beſtoweth a reward on each of them. He to whom he giveth the firſt gift, being the chief of all the reſt, hath a particular name belonging to him ever after; as alſo, to the ſecond and the third: The firſt they call *Chuam. Yuen*, the next *Pham*, *Yuen*; the third *Thoan*, *Hoa*; and this name is of ſo great eſteeme and reputation, that in a few daies after the examination, there is ſcarce any perſon through out the whole Kingdom, that doth not know them by theſe names; and not by the names of their fathers and Countrie; which is a wonderfull thing in ſo vaſt a Kingdom as that is. The honour is as great, as that of our Dukes and Marqueſſes. As well for the reſpect, which is paid them throughout the whole realme; as for the places of authority and truſt, where they are put to govern; being the very ſame, which were anciently conferred upon thoſe great Lords, whoſe authority was in another way, correſpondent to that, which now theſe *Doctours* have.

Theſe ceremonies being accompliſht, there is yet another examination, which although it be voluntarie, there are few that abſent themſelves from it. A new point is given; they make their compoſitions; and according to them there is an Election made of thoſe, who are to be admitted to the royall colledge. They ſelect only 30 of the moſt deſerving, and of them they admit five every year; who only for being entred in ſo ſmal a number, are alway providing with profitable places of *government*. The other twenty five have particular Palaces aſſigned them; where they aſſemble

assemble, and become as Scholars under the discipline of a *Colao*; who almost every day, causeth them to compose somewhat, and exercise themselves in all that belongeth to their learning, and speculative government. This continueth til the next examinations, at which new persons enter, and the other go forth, and according to their degrees and antiquity, are provided with the places of greatest importance at the court; from whence (unlesse it be to be *Presidents* of the examinations, or some other particular imployment, that lasteth but a short time, and by the Kings order) they never go out; no not to be *vice-royes*; which imployment is accounted below them, because only those of the royal colledge are capable of the dignity of a *Colao*.

All the new *Doctors* are that year put into some employment, unlesse there be any, that is not of competent years. That which helpeth this multitude to imployments, is that the same year there is held a generall visitation throughout the whole Kingdome; by which there are so many of the old *Mandarines* turned out, that there are many places made void for the new ones; and, as this degree is of high account, the visits, congratulatious, Feasts, and Presents, which are made upon this occasion, are almost incredible. The reward for bringing the first newes, is many times worth 200 Crownes to the Messenger, but commonly 50, assoon as the friends and kindred of those who are named among the three first above-mentioned, hear of their promotion, presently they erect unto them triumphall arches in their Cities or Villages, not of wood coverd with Canvasse or past-bord; but of pure Marble sumptuously wrought; in the front whereof is engraved the name of the Person, for whom they were erected; the place he hath obtained, and the year of his *Doctour-ship*; in a word, the world is the same throughout. It is a vain thing to beleeve, that he which hath not power, should be admired, heard or received with applause; whether it be done out of zeale to the truth, or out of flattery and interest.

CHAP. 10.

Of the Books and Sciences of the Chinesses.

OF the Sciences of the *Chinesses*, we cannot speak so very distinctly and clearly; because really, their Authours have not been so fortunate, as *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and other Philosophers and wise men, who have methodically handled them under their several *Classes*, divisions, and titles: whereas the *Chinesses* have written little or no thing of many of the sciences and liberal arts, and of the rest, but superficially, except those which concern good government and policie.

From the very beginning it hath been their chiefest aim, to find out the best way of government; the first that began this, were the Kings *Fohi*, *Xinon* and *Hoamsi*. These three at the beginning gave themselves to their

their morall and ſpeculative Sciences, by way of myſticall, even and odd numbers, and other ciphers and notes; by which they gave law to their ſubjects: and from hand to hand, theſe were alway communicated to the Kings; who were the wiſemen of that time, and by this means did govern the Kingdome; untill the *Monarchie* of *Cheù*; which began 1123. years before the coming of our Saviour: at which time *Venuam*, and *Checuam* his youngeſt Sonne, publiſhed theſe numbers and ancient notes, and made a booke of them, intitled *Yechim*; giving likewiſe many morall precepts, documents and orders to the whole Kingdome; and following the ſteps of other Philoſophers, which lived according to the *Stoick* rule: they had alway great care of the Government and publique good; untill the time of *Confuſio*; who compoſed five bookes in order, (called by them *Vehim*) which are at this day held as ſacred. He made alſo other bookes; and of his ſentences and ſayings there have been (ſince) alſo many more bookes compoſed.

This Philoſopher flouriſhed about 150. yeares before the coming of Chriſt; he was a man of a good nature, well inclined to vertue, prudent, ſentencious, and a lover of the publique good. He had many diſciples, which followed him; he had a great deſire to reform the world (which, even at that time, began to loſe its ſinceritie and veracity, changing the ancient manner of living, and introducing moderne cuſtomes.) And ſo he governed in ſeverall Kingdomes: for when he ſaw, that they did not live conformable to his precepts and counſells in one Kingdom, he went to another; yet not uncenſured by many other Philoſophers of that time, who ſeeing the evill courſe, which men tooke, retired themſelves to their villages, and becoming husbandmen, in their owne perſons tilled their grounds. Now it happened that one day *Confuſio*, paſſing along, and being to go through a river, whoſe ford he was not acquainted withall, ſent one to enquire of a man that was labouring thereabouts, who was a Philoſopher, He asked the meſſenger, who he was; and being anſwered, that he was a diſciple of *Confuſio's*, who ſate in his Coach expecting his anſwer; The Philoſopher replied, let him go in a good houre: he knoweth the way, and hath no need of a guide; ſignifying thereby, that he went from Kingdome to Kingdome, endeavouring to Governe, in a time that was not proper for Philoſophers to reigne in.

Nevertheleſſe in after times, this man was in ſo great favour with the *Chineſes*; and the bookes which he compoſed were held in ſo much credit, as alſo the ſayings and ſentences which he left behind him; that they do not only hold him for a Saint, and a Maſter and *Doctour* of the whole Kingdome, and whatſoever is cited of him is eſteemed as an Oracle or ſacred thing; but alſo, in all the Cities of the Kingdome, he hath publique Temples built to his memorie, where at ſet times he is worſhipped with very great ceremony: and in the year of the examinations, one of the principall ceremonies is, that all the graduates go together to do him reverence, and acknowledge him for their Maſter.

Of thoſe that are deſcended from him, he that is the neereſt of kin hath a competent revenue, and enjoyeth the title of *Chuheu*, which is as much as Marquis or Duke. The Governour of the City where he was borne,

borne, out of respect and favour to him, is alwaies one of his family: and finally, all those of his linage, assoone as they are borne, have a particular priviledge from the *Emperour*, and are respected by all, in regard of their predecessour *Confusio*. This custome continueth to this day, although it be 1800. yeares since he died.

But returning to the Bookes which he published, they are these following; The first is called *Yekim*, and treateth of his naturall Philosophie, and of the generation and corruption of things; of Fate, or Judiciary Prognostication from these and other things, and from naturall principles; Philosophizing by way of numbers, figures, and symboles; applying all to moralitie and good government. The second is called *Xukim*, containing a Chronicle of the ancient Kings, and their good government. The third *Xikim*, and is of ancient poesie, all under metaphors and poeticall figures, concerning the naturall inclinations of mankind, and also of diverse customes. The fourth, named *Likim*, treateth of rites and civill ceremonies of the Ancients; and also of those that belong to Religion and divine worship. The fifth is called *Chuncieu*, the which treateth also of the History of their Countrie, and containeth a collection of examples of severall ancient Kings, good and bad, to be imitated or avoided.

There are also foure other bookes, which were made by *Confusio* and another Philosopher called *Mensiù*; In these nine bookes is contained all the naturall and morall Philosophie, which the whole Kingdome studieth; and out of these is taken the point, which is proposed to read, or compose on, in their examinations for degrees. Upon these bookes they have severall commentaries and glosses: But there is one of them, which by the law of the Kingdome they are commanded to follow; nor are they allowed to contradict it in their publique Acts; and hath almost the same authority with the text.

These nine bookes are held, as it were, sacred, and in them, and their *Glosses* and commentaries consisteth the great endeavour of their studies; getting them by heart, and endeavouring to understand the difficult places of them; forming diverse senses upon them, whereby, to govern themselves in the practise of vertue; & to prescribe rules for the government of the Kingdome, according to those wise dictates and *Maximes* they finde there. And because their examinations are very strickt and rigorous, they not being suffered to bring along with them to those examinations, not only any booke, but also not so much as a fingers breadth of paper, it being no easie thing to be very ready in all these bookes, the order is; That the first examination of *Batchelours* be upon the last foure, and that of *Licentiates* to be upon the same foure; as also upon one of the other five: for this reason none is obliged to be very perfect in more than one of those sciences, which he doth professe: and upon that the point is to be given him.

But to speak more distinctly to their learning (although in their books it is not delivered so clearely and orderly) I say, they consider in the universe three things; that is, the heavens, earth, and man; and so accordingly they divide their learning into three members, that is, into the science of the heavens; the science of the earth, and the science of man; including

ding in the two firſt, all naturall knowledge, and in the third, all morall.

In the ſcience of the heavens, they treate of the beginning of all naturall things, of the Creation of the Univerſe, and of the Formation of man himſelfe: of univerſall cauſes, of generation and corruption; of elements and elementary qualities, anſwerable to the planets; of celeſtiall motions and revolutions; of the foure ſeaſons of the year; of the ſtars and planets, of *Judiciall Aſtrologie*, of ſpirits good and bad what they are; and other like matters.

In the ſcience of the earth, they treate of the varietie that is ſeen in her, by reaſon of the 4. ſeaſons of the yeare, of the productions of things, and their differences: of fields and poſſeſſions, and their diviſions in order to *Husbandrie* and *Agriculture*: of the ſituation of the 4 parts of the world: of their poſition; and other particulars concerning them; of the choiſe and building of *Cæmeteries*, and burying places for their dead; in which they are very ſuperſtitious.

In the ſcience, which treateth of man, they teach all their moralitie; and that which belongeth to man in a ſociable and politick capacitie; who imitating the order, manner and proprietie of heaven and earth, as the univerſall Parents, liveth in communitie with the obſerving their five morall vertues, which are *Pietie*, *Juſtice*, *Prudence*, *Policie* and *Fidelitie*. They treate alſo of morall matters, and of the reſpect which they have to the five orders of perſons, into which their Common-wealth is divided; that is, *Father* and *Sonne*: *Husband* and *Wife*: *King* and *Subjects*: *Elder Brother* and *Younger Brother*: and *Friends* among themſelves.

All their moralitie is divided into two members: The firſt they call *Divine Moralitie*, which treateth only of ceremonies, rites and ſacrifices, which they make to heaven; earth; the planets; parts of the world; good and bad ſpirits of the heaven, and earth, mountaines, rivers, tutelary ſpirits, ſoules of the dead, Heroes and famous men, *&c.* The ſecond is their *Politick* and *civill Moralitie*; This is divided into *Ethiques*, which ordereth the manners and actions of mankinde as they are conſidered in relation to their owne perſons: and into *Oeconomie*, in order to the government of their families: and into *Politiques*, in relation to the Government of the Commonwealth, the publick good, and conſervation of the Kingdome. The Government of a ſingle perſon doth put him in a way to the good Government of his familie; and the good Government of a familie to that of the Kingdome; as for example, A father, which doth not well Governe his houſe, how ſhould he governe a City or Province? and he that knoweth not how to governe and correct himſelfe, according to the duty of his ſingle perſon, how ſhould he be able to regulate his familie? So that they lay the firſt foundation of mortalitie, in the good manners and behaviour of each particular perſon; from whence proceede well govern'd families, and publick Governments well adminiſtred.

Under the ſame member of the ſcience of man, they comprehend the *Liberall* and all other *Arts*; which belong to their perſons, families and *Monarchie*; which ſhall be the ſubject of the following chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. 11.

Of their Sciences and liberall Arts in particular.

Grammar, the gate of the other Sciences, if we reduce it only to the terminations of a language, as *Cornelius Nepos*, and other grave Authours have done, is but in little use among the *Chinesses*: for all their words being *Monosyllables* and undeclinable, there is not much paines required to put them together in *syntax*: yet notwithstanding all this, there is a great deal of difficulty in composing; the which consisteth in placing of adverbs and certain termes, which are not significant: but if we should enlarge the *Grammar*, as far as *Angelus Politianus*, and some others have stretched it, it is certain, that there is great use of *Grammar* among them; for their humane learning is very large and vast; and although they have but few fables or mysteries, yet they have many Histories, Sayings, Sentences, and *Apophthegmes*, which they must make use of for the ornament of their compositions.

For *Logick*, they have no other rules, but what are dictated to them by the light of nature.

Rhetorick is much in use among them, although they have no rules belonging to that art; but rather take it up by way of Imitation; observing and practising what they find to be good in the compositions of others.

Arithmetick they have in perfection, for as much as concerneth the four *Species* and kinds thereof: they have also their demonstrations, and figures, as I have seen in their books. Of *Algebra* they know nothing at all, nor do they much practise the ordinary *Arithmetick*. The way of account through the whole Kingdom, and also in the neighbouring Countries, is with an instrument, called by the *Portugheses*, *Gina*, and of the *Chinesses*, *Suonpuon*, that is, a Table of account: it is made like a small square, divided into ten parts, with certain little rodds or wyres of brasse, upon each of which are threaded seaven little balls or beads, about the bignesse of those we use in our Chaplets or Rosaries: five beneath (for the wyer is divided into two parts) which stand for *vnites*; two above, which signify *tens*: and with this instrument, moving up and down the little balls, they make their accounts with great facilitie and expedition.

In *Geometrie* they have a sufficient knowledge; for although, not being acquainted with remote Countries and Kingdomes, they have not been able to distinguish their bounds; nor to assign them their proper confines: yet they have very exactly divided their own country, of which they have very perfect *maps*. Add to this; that anciently all their land was divided by very exact measures: because the King had not his revenue then, in that manner, as he hath it now, that is, that every land should pay so much; but every one divided his land into ten equall parts, and one of those parts, which lay nigheſt to the middle, they tilled and sowed, and the profit was the Kings: and even now a daies, in buying and selling

of land, they meaſure it, if there be occaſion.

The meaſure which they uſe upon this occaſion, as likewiſe to meaſure any other continued quantity, is in this manner. The leaſt of all, they call *Hufuen*, and is three graines of wheat. Ten of theſe make the ſecond meaſure, called *Huzum*; ten *Huzums* make a *Che*; and ten *Che's* make their greateſt meaſure called *Hucham*, bigger than an *Italian* yard. Theſe meaſures, the which they have perfectly divided in the manner above-ſaid, are uſed by all Officers, as alſo by taylours, to make their garments, taking meaſure by them, as we do in *Europe* with a piece of thread, or Parchment: ſo likwiſe, the Carpenders frame a houſe, though never ſo big, with all its pillars, beames, joyces.etc. Without ſo much as trying a piece of timber, where it is to ſtand, only by meanes of theſe meaſures; and having framed a houſe thus in ſeverall pieces; they will on a ſudden joyn them together and ſet it up, without miſſing in the leaſt.

Their wayes they meaſure by paces, but ſtill according to the ſame meaſure, making a Geometricall pace to conſiſt of 6 *Che*, and one *Li* of 300 paces; and of 100 *Li* one *Stadium*, or daies journey. So that from North to South it appeareth that 250 *Li* make a *degree*; for we allow to every league 15 *Li*; and 16 leagues to every degree.

To meaſure corn, rice, pulſe, and ſuch like, the greateſt meaſure is, that which the *Portugheſſes* call *Pico*, and the *Chineſſes Tan*. This is compoſed of ſmaller meaſures: the leaſt is as much as a man can hold in the hollow of his hand; ten of theſe meaſures make one *Xim*; (and this of rice is the ordinary allowance of a man for a day) ten *Xim* make one *Teu*, and ten *Teu* make one *Tan*; which cometh to weight about 100 *Cattes*, which make 125 pound of *Portugall-weight*, 16 ounces to the pound.

The third manner of meaſuring, which is by weight, is divided after the ſame manner. We will begin with an *Hao*, and it is the tenth part of a piece of their mony, which the *Portugheſſes* call *Caxà*, or *Li*, as the *Chineſſes* call it: and anſwereth to our half *Julio* or three-pence: ten *Li* make one *Condrin*; ten *Condrin* one *Mas*; ten *Mas* one *Tael*; and 16 *Tael* one *Catte*, which is their pound, but bigger than ours; for 16 *Tael* make 20 of our pounds: 100 *Catte* make one *Pico*; or, as they call it, one *Tan*.

In weighing they uſe not the Balance, but the *Stillyard*, or *ſtatera*, as wel for little, as great weights. For great weights, they do not uſe an Iron-beam, but of wood, divided into its parts by points or marks of Braſſe, or elſe of ſilver. In weighing of gold, ſilver, medicines, and the like, they make uſe of certain little weights, with a beam of white bone, divided by ſtrokes of black. They make theſe *Stillyards* very perfectly, and of ſeverall faſhions; The middle ſized have three rowes of pricks, and three threads neere the Centre in ſtead of a cord; the firſt row of pricks giveth any weight from 3 ounces to five; the ſecond goeth further, and weigheth to ten ounces; the laſt row to 20. The larger ſort of *Stillyards* weigh more or leſs; the leaſt ſort are divided into ſo ſmal parts, that although thoſe ten parts, into which a *Li* of ſilver is divided, do not uſe to be divided in braſſe-mony, (for they coine no mony but of braſſe) nevertheleſſe in the weighing of ſilver they diſtinguiſh and divide them very exactly.

For the better underſtanding whereof, it is to be ſuppoſed, that throughout

out all the Kingdome of *China*, excepting the Province of *Yunan*, they uſe no other money but of braſſe; and all the ſilver goeth by weight, ſo that if I would give a crowne, I give as much ſilver, as a crowne weigheth, and ſo of a ſix-pence or three-pence, *&c.* And for this cauſe there are an infinitie of founders, as alſo mint-houſes for ſilver: and to buy ſome things, eſpecially ſuch as are of ſmall value, ſilver of baſe alloy will ſerve the turn; and ſo baſe, that in ſome Provinces, of one ſix-pence they make eight or ten; and reape much benefit by it. Other things cannot be bought but with fine ſilver, and ſo the poore ſilver goeth often to the fire, to be otherwiſe qualified.

They are great lovers of the *Mathematiques*, but to ſpeak generally, they know very little of them; none being allowed to ſtudy them profeſſedly, except thoſe, who apply themſelves to this ſtudy, by the Kings ſpeciall order; and theſe are only two throughout the whole Kingdome; The one in the Court of *Pekim*, and the other in that of *Nankim*; with a traine and attendance of *Mandarines*, and the Title of the Kings *Mathematicians*: Theſe teach their art but only to their ſonnes, who always ſucceed them; and are but moderately knowing in their profeſſion. Nevertheleſſe, they have many ancient books of this ſcience; not only of the courſe and motion of the ſtars, planets, and ſeverall other things, but alſo of *Judiciall Aſtrologie* and *Horoſcopes*, to which they are much addicted. By theſe books they find out, when the *Eccliplſes* of the ſun and moone are to be; and have maps of the ſtars, though not in great perfection, yet tolerably good. They reckon a greater number of ſtars than we. They make the elements to be five; that is, water, mettall, fire, wood, and earth. Over theſe they aſſigne five predominant planets: as *Mercury* over the water, *Venus* over mettall, *Mars* over fire, *Jupiter* over wood, and *Saturn* over the earth. They are great obſervers of the motions of the heavens; They diſtinguiſh the ſeaſons of the yeare by the *Aquinoxes* and *Solſtices*. They divide the *Zodiack* into 24. ſignes, doubling our number. They make the yeare to conſiſt of twelve moones; and 354. dayes, having ſix months of thirty days, and ſix of 29. and when it is leap-yeare, which falleth out every three years, it conſiſteth of 13 moones and 383. dayes.

Their yeare beginneth with the new moone, which is neereſt to our month of *February*. From the obſervation of the heavens and their motion, they proceed to the Judiciall part, referring ſeverall events to the conjunctions of the planets, and celeſtiall appearances of *Phenomena*, which they diligently obſerve: and if there fall out any new or ſtrange appearance, they preſently give the King notice of it by a petition; and to this end in both Courts there is a very high place or Tower, furniſhed with ſeverall mathematicall inſtruments, which they call *Quon Siam Thai*, that is, a place to obſerve the ſtars in.

Of that in *Nankim* I have already ſaid ſomething, when I ſpake of that City. In *Pekim* the chiefeſt inſtruments are a ſpheare, like that at *Nankim* with all his *Circles*, *Aquator*, *Zodiack*, *Tropicks*, &c. of caſt mettall, and excellent workmanſhip. Another inſtrument of the ſame bigneſſe, (that is, of 24. foote in circumference,) divided into ſeverall circles, ſome fixt, others moveable, a ſtile or *Gnomon* in the middle, and little holes at each

each end to take the hight of the ſtars, the degrees and elevation of the *Pole*, &c. There is moreover a celeſtiall Globe of braſſe of the ſame bigneſſe, divided into its degrees, with its conſtellations, whereof they make only 28. They have alſo a *Stile* of braſſe very large, divided proportionably, with which they meaſure the ſhadowes of the foure ſeaſons of the yeare; that is, of the *Aquinoxes* and *Solſtices*. There are beſides, many other moveable inſtruments of braſſe, for ſeverall uſes, which do ſufficiently demonſtrate the curioſitie of their Anceſtours, and how much more diligent and intelligent they were than the Modernes.

Muſick was anciently much eſteemed in *China*, in ſo much that their Philoſopher *Confuſio*, in the Countrie where he governed, one of the chiefe things he tooke paines in, was to cauſe them to be taught *Muſick*. Now adaies the *Chineſſes* lament and ſay, that the true rule thereof is loſt, and almoſt all the ancient books that treated of *Muſick*: So that that *Muſick*, which they have at preſent, is not eſteemed off by the *Nobilitie*: The greateſt uſe they make of it, is in their comedies. There are alſo particular *Muſicians*, who are ſent for to their feaſts, mariages, and the birth of their children; and of theſe there are ſome that may be endured. There are not wanting alſo blind men, who go ſinging about the ſtreets, and at the doores of their houſes: and as all the *Chineſſes* do make a feaſt on their birth-dayes, theſe blind men do keep in their memorie the punctuall time of all the birth dayes of perſons of qualitie, and know their houſes well; and at thoſe times do never faile to go thither to ſing. The *Bonzi* do uſe *Muſick* in their offices and mortuaries, the Tone whereof is not much unlike our *Cantus firmus*, or plainſong; though they have not formally either plain-ſong or Organ-note; for they do not raiſe, nor fal their voice immediately from a note to the next note or half-note; but mediately raiſe and fal it to a *third*, a *fift*, or an *eight*: in which the *Chineſſes* do much delight.

They have twelve Tones, ſix to riſe, which they call *Live*, and ſix to fall, which they call *Liu*. They have alſo their notes in ſinging like ours of, *ut*, *re*, *mi*; they are five, and among them is our *ut*: in learning of *Muſick* they make no uſe of ſignes, nor of the joints of the fingers; nor in compoſing do they uſe lines, as we do: it is therefore to be ſuppoſed, that in their conſorts, they have not a *Muſick* formed of diverſe parts: for although many do ſing together, all is but *uniſon*, as is in uſe almoſt throughout all *Aſia*. Therefore their *Muſick* is pleaſing only to thoſe of their owne Country, but their beſt way of ſinging is, one voice only with an Inſtrument. Neither are they delighted with our full *Muſick*, but very much with a ſingle voice.

They uſe *keeping of time*, but cannot tell how many diverſities it hath, and ſo in ſinging ancient ſongs, and moderne ones, upon the ſame ayre with the old, they hence know the time, when they are to ſing, and when they are to ſtop. Concerning their inſtruments, they ſay they have ſeaven ſeverall kinds of tones, beſides a mans voice; and according to theſe they have made their *Muſicall Inſtruments*. The firſt is of mettall, and containeth bells of all ſorts, *Cimballs*, *Siſtra*, &c. The ſecond of ſtone. They make an Inſtrument of Jaſper, like unto the Italian ſquadra, excepting that the lowermoſt end is very large, and they ſtrike or play upon it, as it hangeth up.

The

The third is of skins: here come in our ordinary drums, and thoſe of the *Moreſco* faſhion, or *kettle drums*; which they make of ſeverall faſhions: and ſome ſo big, that they cannot be plaid upon, unleſſe they be hung up in frames of wood. The fourth is of ſilke, of which they make ſtrings for inſtruments as here we make lute-ſtrings of gutts. For ſtringed inſtruments, they have the vyoll almoſt like ours: but it hath only 3 ſtrings, and is the uſuall inſtrument of the blind man. They uſe alſo the violin with 3 ſtrings and its bow; they have alſo another with one only ſtring, which they play on, like to our *Cow vyollin*. The chiefeſt ſtringed inſtrument which they have, is of ſeaven ſtrings, and is in more eſteem than the reſt; and if the *Muſician* be skil-full, it maketh tolerable *Muſick*. The fift is of wood. Of this kind they make certain thin pieces of board, & laying them together, they play upon them all at once, like ſnappers or *caſtagnets*: the *Bonzi* alſo have a particular way by themſelves, of ſtriking and playing upon a piece of wood; and that with much *keeping of time*.

The ſixth is of thoſe inſtruments which are ſounded with the mouth, as flutes, of which they have 2 or 3 ſorts, & ſo ſound them very excellently. They have alſo another inſtrument made of ſeverall pipes, like the faſhion of our *Organ*, but it is but ſmall, and to be carried in ones hand. They ſound it with their mouths; and the Harmony is excellent. Now ſometimes all theſe inſtruments are plaid on together, and make a pleaſing *muſick*.

Poeſie hath ever been much eſteemed in *China*; and in the time, when there were many Kings, *Feudatory* to one *Emperour*, when they came to do him homage (as they did every three years) they were obliged each of them to bring with him out of his Kingdom, the Rythmes and Poeſies, which were there moſt current and in uſe, that by them he might judge of their manners and cuſtomes, which truly are much diſcovered in ſuch compoſitions. In this particular, the *Chineſſes* have a great advantage over all others, becauſe they are very modeſt, in whatſoever they write; and it is very rare to find a looſe word in their verſes: and (what is more,) they have no letters whereby to expreſſe the *privy parts*; nor are they to be found written in any part of all their books.

They have great variety of verſes, and do uſe a conſonancie of meeter, like to that in the *Songs*, *Ballads*, *Sonets*, and *Madregals* of *Europe*: and they put alſo the correſpondency of the Rythmes, at the end of each; and ſo many verſes, as we do in our *ſonets* & *octaves*; in which they uſe great variety.

They compoſe likewiſe verſes by the number of ſyllables, the which they call *words*: for as in their language, all words are *Monoſyllables*, there cometh to be no difference betwixt a ſyllable and a word, which conſiſteth of one only letter, which is likewiſe pronounced a *Monoſyllable*. So that all letters being thus after the ſame manner, the quantity of the verſe conſiſteth in the number of them; ſo that as we compoſe verſes here of five, ſeaven, or eleaven ſyllables, ſo alſo the *Chineſſes* make theirs of five, ſeaven, or more letters: whereas among us two words, and ſometimes one may take up the whole verſe: it can never fall out ſo in theirs; becauſe all their words are of one ſyllable and one letter. They have not verſes that anſwer to our latin verſes, with feet, as *Dactils* or *Spondees*, &c. But are all made like our Sonets and Dities, and other verſes in Rythme; in which they

they uſe many various forms and manners of compoſitions. The chiefe are eight: it will be ſufficient to relate one to you, to give you ſome knowledge of the reſt.

In this kind of *Poeſie* the verſes are to be eight in number, conſiſting each of them of five letters, and the conſonancy of rythme to be every other verſe, in this manner: The firſt may have it, or no, as they pleaſe; but the ſecond muſt rime to the fourth; The fift with the ſixt; the ſeventh with the eighth: The third, fift and ſeaventh have no conſonancy of rime, but the letters are to be correſpondent to one another: as alſo the verſes, that do obſerve a conſonancy, are likewiſe to have their letters to correſpond to one another; the firſt with the firſt, the ſecond with the ſecond, *&c.* And this correſpondency conſiſteth not in riming, but in the ſignification; wherefore if the firſt letter of the ſecond verſe ſignifie a mountaine, water, fire, or whatſoever elſe, the firſt letter of the fourth verſe muſt likewiſe ſignifie the ſame thing; which is likewiſe obſerved in the ſecond, and in the reſt of the letters, of the whole verſe. This is a very Artificiall way, but difficult.

In the conceits of their verſes, and in the figures with which they expreſſe themſelves, they uſe almoſt the ſame manner with us in *Europe*. They have another kind of verſe, of leſſe eſteeme, like ordinary rimes, which are every where in requeſt: but the *Nobilitiá*, and particularly thoſe of the Kings kindred and blood-royall, are much addicted unto the eighth manner of verſes above mentioned, in which they make many ſeverall *Poeſies*, chiefly in commendation of their friends, of famous men, of the dead, and of ſeverall vertues.

In *Painting* they have more curioſitie, than perfection. They know not how to make uſe either of *Oyles*, or *Shadowing* in this Art; and do therefore paint the figures of men without any grace at all: but trees, flowers, birds, and ſuch like things, they paint very much to the life. But at preſent there are ſome of them, who have been taught by us, that uſe *Oyles*, and are come to make perfect pictures.

Medicine, or *Phyſick*, is in a very good condition in *China*, becauſe they have abundance of good ancient bookes of that art, being all their owne authours, for ours are not yet arrived thither. They do not let blood, nor ſet on Cupping-Glaſſes; They uſe no ſirrops, no potions, no pills; much leſſe have they the uſe of Cauteries, or iſſues, a medicine of great advantage; They are only *Herbaliſts*, uſing nothing but herbes, rootes, fruits, ſeeds, *&c.* and all drie: and for a greater ſupply, that which they have not in ſome Provinces is brought them from others: ſo that there are whole Faires only of medicines; and in the Cities and Townes the Apothecaries ſhops are very well provided, from whence they furniſh themſelves. But neither in bottles nor glaſſes; but of all others the Phyſicians are well provided; becauſe they never write any receipt, but give the medicine themſelves to the patient whom they viſit, And all is done at the ſame viſit, therefore the Phyſician hath alwayes following him a boy, carrying a Cabinet with five drawers, each of them being divided into more than fourty little ſquares; and all of them furniſhed with medicines ready ground and prepared.

They

They are very famous in judging of the Pulſe: never asking the patient, whether the paine be in his head, ſhoulders, or belly; only they feele the pulſe with both their hands, leaned upon a pillow, or ſome other ſuch thing, obſerving the motion of the pulſe for a good while; and afterwards do tell, what the patient ayleth. I do not ſay that they hit right, on every thing, in all patients: nor that all Phyſitians are able to do it; there being many which do not ſtudy, and know but little; but the good and learned Phyſitians do ſeldome faile. We had a Father that was ſick of a violent ſtitch, in the Province of *Kiamſi*. The Phyſitian by feeling of his pulſe could tell, whether his paine did increaſe or diminiſh, and all the changes and alterations of his diſeaſe; and I have heard ſeverall *Portugheſſes*, which have confirmed the ſame by other caſes. Having felt the pulſe, preſently they compoſe the *Medicine*. If it be for the King or Prince they make foure compoſitions, two for them to take, and two to be kept, all of the ſame medicines, and equall in number and quantity: The two are kept, till the patient recover. For all other perſons, they make two only, one for the morning, and the other for the evening. They write upon them in what quantity of water they are to be decocted: and how and when they are to be taken; and many times there doth follow a wonderfull ſucceſſe.

I will relate what happened to a Father, who lay ſick in priſon in the City of *Nankim*. At the beginning of his ſickneſſe they ſent preſently for a Phyſitian, and finding no effect of his medicines, they ſent for another; & becauſe the phyſick of the ſecond had no better ſucceſſe, and the malady ſtill encreaſed, the Chriſtians ſought out for a Phyſitian of more fame and reputation; who although he was very unwilling to make a viſit into ſuch a place, notwithſtanding, at length by much intreaty he was perſwaded to viſit the ſick man: He felt his pulſe, and performed his ordinary *ceremonies*; among the which one was to lay his breaſt bare, which was full of ſpots; for indeed he had the *Meazills*. Preſently he compounded three medicines, the firſt the patient tooke in the morning: the ſecond an houre after noone; (Theſe were a kind of pills, which made him go foure times to the ſtoole) at night he tooke the third. The diſeaſe ſtill encreaſing, the Father was brought that night to ſuch a condition, that he became ſpeechleſſe, and all thought he would have died; nevertheleſſe he held out till the morning, when ſuddenly he mended ſo faſt, that when the Phyſitian came and felt his pulſe, he found him to be without any fevour; telling him, that he was cured, and that he ſhould only have a care to eate moderately, till he had recovered ſtrength; which accordingly fell out: for in a ſhort time the Father was perfectly well.

They forbid not their patients to drink water, ſo it be boyled, or elſe *Chà*; but they will not allow them to eat; but if the patient be hungry he may eat lightly and with great caution: if he be not hungry, they do not much trouble themſelves to perſwade him to eat: for they ſay, when the body is ſick, the ſtomack doth not well perform his office, and ſo the concoction which is then made, is malignant and contrary to health. His viſit is preſently rewarded with a moderate fee; nor doth he returne, unleſſe he be ſent for, leaving, by this manner, a liberty to the ſick perſon to

change his Phyſitian, if he think fit, and to ſend for others; as many times they do, till the third or fourth day of their ſickneſſe, if they ſee no effect of the medicines they have taken.

CHAP. 12.

Of the Courteſies and Civilities of the Chineſses.

AMong the *Chineſſes* to uncover the head, or to *Scrape* a legge is not eſteemed any courteſie, but rather contrary to good manners; eſpecially to uncover the head: But to bow the body, or at leaſt the head, when one can do no more, are accounted termes of *Courteſie* and good manners. And to ſpeake firſt in generall; Their Courteſies are very low bowings of themſelves even to the very ground; as is the ordinary mode in their viſits and meetings: They call this *Ye* or *Coye*: Secondly they uſe the ſame reverence, and then ſuddenly to fall upon their knees, and in that poſture to bow againe with their head even unto the ground: and in ſome caſes they riſe up againe upon their legges, & repeate the ſame *Ceremony* three times; which is the leaſt; foure the moſt ordinary; nine the moſt that can be; and that is performed only to the King. Sometimes they ſhorten it, making their firſt reverence ſtanding on their legges; and preſently kneeling down, they make the three following on their knees.

The courteſie of the women is the ſame which is uſed among us; excepting, that in ſome caſes, they alſo kneel; and in that poſture make an obeiſance with their head to the ground three or four times, as *civility* ſhal require.

They have for this purpoſe particular garments, which the common people do not uſe; it is alſo true, that among friends they do not uſe them; but never faile to do it with others: neither dare any one viſit a Perſon of quality without ſuch a *Veſt*, or garment: But if they meet by chance, (not in the ſtreet, for ſuch meetings they carefully avoyd) and both of them have not that garment above mentioned, which they call *Tai*, both the one and the other are excuſed from that *Ceremony* of the *Veſt*: But if one of them hath it on, the other muſt preſently put on his; which for this purpoſe is commonly carryed after him by a ſervant; and if by accident he hath not brought it with him, although he ſhould be never ſo much importuned by the other, (who hath his *Veſt* on,) to accept of the accuſtomed *Ceremony* and *Courteſie* from him, he may not conſent to it, but avoyding the *Courteſie*, is to ſit down and converſe with him.

If one go to viſit another at his houſe, he muſt ſtay in the Hall, till the other hath put on his *Veſt*; But if he be a friend, he is to come preſently, (although he be not ready with his *Veſt*) and receive his gueſt, and to make much of him, and after that, he is to retire and put on his *Veſt*.

This garment of *Courteſie*, for ſuch as have taken degrees, is the ſame with the enſigne of honour, which they weare, in their government and the

the enſigne of their office. They that are noble by bloud and deſcent, do wear the enſigne and habit of *Doctours*, although they have never ſtudied. For Gentlemen and *Letterati*, who have not taken any degree, there is allowed for them to wear a wide large *Veſt*, but much differing from that which is ordinarily worne. The Miniſters and officers of the chief *Magiſtrates*, as alſo, in all the courts of juſtice, thoſe who are under the *Preſident* uſe this *Ceremonie*; which is, to take off the badge, which they weare upon their breaſt, and to put on a girdle of a ſmall price; which they uſe only ſome few daies in the year, when they go about, to make their obeyſance. The young people, if they have not taken a degree, uſe only their ordinary habit.

The *courteſie*, which the common people uſe, is to clap their hands one upon the other, and lift them up as high as their head. The ſame is uſed by friends and kindred, when they treat one another freely, and without *Ceremony*; and if they be equals, they both together do the ſame reverence once; only he is eſteemed to have the advantage, that ſtands on the right hand; as among us, that takes off the hat laſt, though both do uncover. Among grave people the ordinary *Ceremony* uſed in their viſits, invitations and meetings, is; that, ſtanding on their feet they make on obeiſance even to the ground once, without any more adoe: children to their Fathers on certain daies, as *New years day*, the Fathers birth-day, and other feaſtivals, uſe the ſecond courteſie of four bowings, ſtanding on their feet, and four kneelings on their knees, and they to whom it is done, receive it ſitting. The ſame *Ceremony* do the Scholars pay their Maſters; who receive it ſtanding. The ſame do the inferiour *Mandarines* uſe to the *Magiſtrate*; and Idolaters to the Idols, and the *Mandarines* to the King; excepting that theſe laſt hold an Ivory Tablet a palm and a half long, and four fingers broad, before their faces: finally, the King himſelf doth the ſame in the temples, and to his mother; and when he doth it, he holdeth the ſaid Tablet of Ivory before his face.

The firſt time they ſee one another, and are Perſons of an equall condition, and he that viſiteth, or is viſited, will ſhew an extraordinary affection and reſpect, he cauſeth a Carpet to be brought and ſpread before them, and after the firſt ordinary courteſie, they performe the ſecond kneeling down four times, and this they do both together. They avoid, as I have ſaid, all meeting abroad, as much as poſſibly they can; but if they cannot decline it, they ſalute one another by turnes out of their Sedans, lifting up their arms to their head, bowed in form of a bow, beginning at leaſt 20 paces off before they meet, ſtill doing the ſame very leiſurely, whilſt the encounter laſteth; If the one be inferiour to the other, and be carried in a Sedan, he cauſeth it to be ſet down on the ground; if he be on horſeback, he alighteth and ſtandeth on his feet; and as the other paſſeth by, he maketh him a profound reverence, even unto the ground: if they be not *Mandarines*, they perform the ordinary *Courteſie* to one another: if they be common people, they hold up their hands, and paſſe along.

The ſervants in great houſes are not to do any reverence unleſſe it be at certain times and occaſions: as, when himſelf or his Lord or Maſter cometh home from abroad, or at the beginning of the new year, &c. They

fall down on their knees, bowing their head to the ground, once, or thrice.

The ordinary reverence, which they make before their Lords and Maſters, is to ſtand upright with their armes hanging down. Thoſe that belong to the *Tribunals*, and alſo the ſervants and ſerjeants of the *Mandarines*, in publick, alwaies ſpeak to their Maſters upon their knees; as alſo the *Plaintiff* and *Defendant*, with their caps off.

To give or receive a thing with one hand only, is accounted little manners, among perſons of the ſame condition, and if an inferiour doth it to his ſuperiour, it is an incivilitie. In a word, they are exceſſive in their *civilities* and good manners; which ſeems rather more proper for divine worſhip, than civill reſpect. To be courteous, and outwardly well compoſed, to do things with maturity, circumſpection, gravity and eavenneſſe, they account among their chiefeſt vertues: all which are expreſſed in this word *Li*: in which they comprehend alſo the circumſtances of time, and habit; and the *Thie*, with which they are performed.

The *Thie* is a bill or book, with folds within and without, being about the breadth of ones hand, and a palm long, and it is of three ſeverall faſhions. The largeſt hath ſix leaves: the midling three, and the leaſt one: and all uſe them according to the cuſtome of the Province and the quality of the Perſon, that doth viſite, or is viſited. The *Colai* ſeldome uſe other, than the ſmall ones.

That which is uſed in the ordinary viſits is white with a red ſtreak on the outſide. If the viſit be for to preſent their reſpects, or an invitation to a feaſt, it is all of red paper: if it be to condole, or for the death of any one, it is accommodated to the colour of mourning: if it come from one that is in mourning, the letters are *Azure*, as alſo the ſtreak on the outſide; the paper is white, but much differing from the ordinary paper, being only uſed upon this occaſion.

This *Thie* containeth no more than one line of writing, which is that in the Margin; if it be a friend, or one that would ſhew himſelf ſuch, he writeth the line quite out: if he be not ſuch, he leaveth out the two firſt letters, and beginneth at the third place: if he would ſeem grave or ſtately, beſide the two firſt he leaveth out alſo the fourth, and beginneth with the the third, going on with the reſt, which are never left out. The writing importeth thus much in Engliſh *Your Lordſhips moſt intimate friend, and the perpetuall ſchollar of your learning. N. commeth to kiſſe your hands, and to do reverence to your Lordſhip.*

This *Thie* is given to the porter, who preſenteth it to his Maſter, and giveth him notice of the ſtranger, and who he is. Sometimes the viſit is received, but not the *Thie*; and then he that receiveth the viſit, is not obliged to returne it. But it is otherwiſe, when the *Thie* is left; for although it be only given to the porter, becauſe the lord is not at home, or becauſe he will not admit of a viſit, yet he is obliged to return a viſit to the other. Inferiours, as Souldiers to their Captaines, the leſſer *Mandarines* to the greater, cannot make uſe of a *Thie*, but they make another kind of thing of the ſame forme, but much different in paper and ſtyle; neither may it have a ſtroke on the outſide, or ſay, that they come to viſit;

but

but only, who they are, what office they beare, and what their buſineſſe is; and it is almoſt like a petition, which they call *Pimthie*, that is, a bill of advice. Thoſe of the greater *Quality*, ſuch as are the *Colai*, *Vice-royes* and the like, many times viſit not, nor render a viſit, in their own perſons; but only ſend a *Thie* from their houſe, or leave it at the gate as they paſſe by.

They are as free of their viſits, even to ſtrangers, as we are to our familiar friends: but with the ſame facility and libertie, that they go to viſit they will often excuſe themſelves, if they be viſited; and it is enough to ſay, they are not at home, unleſſe it be to a perſon of ſome great qualitie and reſpect; or that he hath often come to viſit him; then they will hardly deny him admittance. By how much the perſon is of a greater and graver quality, with ſo much the more difficulty doth he admit of viſits: and ſome to free themſelves, & to avoyd the trouble of theſe *Ceremonies*, write upon a piece of paper in white letters, and clap it over their gate, *That they are retired to their garden houſe*; by which means they are excuſed from the moleſtation of theſe *Civilities*.

The viſit muſt be, (like that of the Phyſitian,) in the morning; for towards the evening it is not eſteemed to be of ſo much courteſie; nor muſt it be a viſit by the way, going upon other buſineſſe; and if at any time they make ſuch a viſit, they excuſe themſelves, ſaying, They will take another time to ſatisfie the intention of their obligation and *devoir*.

For ordinarie viſits they have no ſet time; there are times nevertheleſſe, wherein acquaintance, friends and kindred are obliged to pay this *Ceremony*. The chiefe and principall time is the *firſt day of the new yeare*; wiſhing one another an happy new yeare: at which time there is a great multitude of ſedans, horſes, and people up and down the ſtreets: for then viſits are moſt frequent. Many times they go not into the houſe, but leave a *Thie*, and go their way; and if they enter, they are obliged to eat and drink, although it be but a little. The ſecond time is on the *fifteenth* of the ſame month; But the viſits are not ſo frequent, and the feaſting more, becauſe it is at the ending of the *fifteen* days, which they call the feaſtivall of *Lanthornes*; becauſe during that time they ſet many of them up and down the ſtreets on gates, and in windowes; and ſome of them are very faire and coſtly.

The third is the *Third* day of the *Third moone* which is in *March*, and is called *Cimnim*. They go all then to the ſepulchres, to perform there their ſacrifices and other *Ceremonies*; and although they bewaile their dead, certaine it is, that the living make good cheere among themſelves.

The fourth is the *fift* day of the *fift moone*, which they call *Tuonù*. The people keep a feſtivall at that time in the ſtreets and high-ways, and upon the rivers; although ſometimes this is forbidden, by reaſon of the diſaſters, which often fall out upon the rivers.

The fift is upon the *Seaventh* day of the *Seaventh moone*, at what time they begg abilitie and power of the moone; as alſo they do the like upon the *Ninth* day of the *Ninth moone*. They viſit one another and ſend Preſents; and every feaſtivall hath its Preſents that are proper to it.

Beſide theſe feaſtivalls, they viſit upon occaſion of death, of changing their

their houſes, of marriage, at the birth of a ſonne, at the promotion to a degree or office, or higher dignitie, at the taking of a journy, upon the birth day, and eſpecially when they enter upon any ſeaventh year of their age, and in theſe caſes they muſt not make an empty viſit, but are always to ſend ſome Preſent.

When one undertaketh a long journy, all his friends viſit him, and ſend him preſents. But when he returneth, he is to viſit and preſent them, who performed thoſe kind offices to him.

They viſit likewiſe the ſick, but only at the gate, who ſeldome admit of a viſit within, unleſſe it be from an intimate friend.

In theſe viſits, they are very punctuall; ſons towards their father; ſcholars towards their Maſters; inferiours toward their ſuperiours, and the whole Kingdome toward the King: ſo that on his birth-day, at the foure quarters of the year, and at the chiefe feaſtivals, the *vice-roy* together with all the *Magiſtrates* of the Province diſpatch away an Embaſſadour to court to viſit the King in the name of all that Province. They which reſide at the court, as well *Letterati*, as Captaines; on the ſame days go in perſon to court, to do their *devoirs*.

They have ſeverall Hals well accommodated for the receiving of viſits; the firſt is common to all: The viſitant may enter thither and ſit downe, without giving any notice of his being there; And although he find not the porter to uſher him in, they have another farther in, which they call the private Hall: Hitherto may their kindred and intimate friends come; but no further; leaſt they ſhould go into that part of the houſe, which is called *Hui*, and is the place where the women are; whither the ſervingmen of the houſe are not ſuffered to come, unleſſe they be very young. In the outward Hall they come to receive their viſitants: and after the ordinary courteſies are performed, the maſter of the houſe with his owne hands bringeth a chaire, and fitteth it with a cuſhion, and if they are many, he bringeth chaires, and accommodateth them for them all. And afterward, they al of them accommodate a chaire for him. He leaveth every one to take the place that is due to him; and if it be not, that ſome one of them hath a particular reſpect, due to his dignity or office, the ſonnes, couſins, ſcholars, *&c.* take place according to their age; and if they do not know one anothers age, they ask it. The Maſter of the houſe taketh always the loweſt place. After they are ſeated, preſently the drink called *Cià* is brought in, which they alſo take according to the ſame order of precedency.

In ſome Provinces, the often preſenting of this drink is eſteemed the greater honour: But in the Province of *Hamcheu*, if it be brought the third time, it intimateth to the viſitant, that it is time for him to take his leave. If the viſitant be a friend, and maketh any ſtay, preſently there is a table ſet with ſweet-meats and fruits: nor do they ever make drie viſits; which is the cuſtome almoſt of all *Aſia*, contrary to the uſe of *Europe*.

In exerciſing their courteſies, (whether it be a ſon before his father, or a ſcholar before his maſter,) for the moſt part they are more hearers, than ſpeakers; the young people being never forward in ſpeaking. The termes which they uſe in ſpeaking are very honourable, and full of reſpect toward

ward others, and humble toward themſelves : and as it is not good manners to call any one *You*, in *Spain* or *Italie*, ſo neither is it among them to ſay *I*. Wherefore they never uſe this word, but other termes in ſtead of it as the Foſter-child, the Scholar, *&c.* And the ſonne, when he ſpeaketh to his father, nameth himſelfe *His youngeſt Sonne*; although he be the eldeſt, and is already married : ſervants to their maſters ſtile themſelves *Siaove*; and the youngeſt of them *Siaoti:* he that pleadeth at a Tribunall, ſtileth himſelfe *the delinquent*; a Chriſtian at his confeſſion *the ſinner*; the women in the palace (excepting the Queenes) and the Eunuchs ſpeaking to the King, uſe *your majeſties ſlave*, *Nupor*, every one elſe ſpeaking to the King nameth himſelfe *vaſſall*, *Chin*. If one doth not ſpeak of his owne perſon, but of ſuch as belong to him, he is to uſe modeſt terms and expreſſions, The father ſaith of his ſonne, *My young ſonne*. The Maſter, *My young ſcholar*, and the ſonne ſpeaking of his father, calleth him, *The father of the houſe*; The ſervant of the Maſter, *The Lord of the houſe*.

In ſpeaking one with another they uſe alwaies honourable Titles, as amongſt us *Your worſhip*, *Your honour*, &c. but they have this quality beſides, that even to mean and inferiour people they give an honourable name, as to an Hoſt, *Chiu*, *Gin*, *Kia*, *the man*, *Lord of the houſe*. To a barge man, *The chiefe man of the veſſell*. To a mulitier, *The great wand*. But if they would anger him, they call him by his ordinary name, *Can Kio*, that is, perſecutour of the feet. To ſervants, if they be grave men, *The great maſter of the houſe*. To the miniſters of the courts of juſtice, and to them which waite on the *Mandarines*, *Man on horſeback* or *Cavalier*, and yet they always go on foote. If they ſpeak to a woman, although ſhe be not of kin to them, they call her *Taſao*, that is, ſiſter-in-law; but ſometimes it happeneth, that he which cannot ſpeake the language well, in ſtead of ſiſter in law, calleth her *Broome*, by an equivocation of the word.

In ſpeaking alſo of ſuch things, as beloug to him they ſpeak to, it is to be done in certaine particular phraſes : So that if he ſpeak of his ſonne, or ſervant he is not to ſay, *Your Lordſhips ſonne*, but the *noble ſonne*, *Limlam*; if he mention the daughter, he ſaith, *The precious love*, *Limgai*; and ſo of others, even of ſickneſſe and infirmitie he is not to ſay ſimply, how doth he with his maladie? but with *his noble indiſpoſition*, *Quei Yam*? Among the common people, (who do not uſe theſe Punctilios) if they do not know one another, they call *Brothers*, *Hium*. But if they are acquainted *I* and *you*, as they liſt, without any ceremony.

As they are ſo punctuall and exceſſive in the manner of their treating and naming one another; ſo alſo are they in the diverſe names which they have, and which they take up according to their age. Theſe are of five ſorts.

The firſt is the *Sir-name*, which they take infallibly from their Father, and never that of the Mother, or the Mothers Father; but the Mother takes the name of the Husband.

The ſecond is a name which they call, *The little* or *young name*, which the Father impoſeth; when they are little ones; and it is commonly the name of ſome living creature, or flower, or of ſome day, &c. and by this name only the Father and Mother may call them; but the ſervants only by the

the first, second, and third, &c. as hath been said.

The third is when he goeth to school; for the Master giveth him another name, which, joyned with the *Sir-name*, composeth a name, by which both his Master and Schoole-fellows call him.

The fourth, when they put on the *Nett* or *Caule* upon their head, of which we spake before: this is done when they are seaventeen or eighteen years of age: for at that time particularly, if one marry a wife, he taketh a new name, which they call a letter; and by this all may call him, except the servants.

The fifth is at the going out of his youth, when he assumeth an other name, which they cal *The great Name* or *Hao*; by this all may cal him, excepting himself and his parents.

Now to return to the Hall, where we left the guests conversing; at their departure, the Guests joyning all together make an ordinary reverence to the Master of the house, giving him thanks for their good entertainment; and he accompanieth them out to the street; where if they came on foot, both parties make ordinary reverence to each other and depart; if on horse-back, or in a sedan or coach, then they make three reverences; and the third *Congie* is made at the gate; where presently the Master of the House goeth in, and the Guest taketh horse; for to ride or take coach in his presence is not counted good manners. When they are on horseback, or in the sedan, the Master of the House commeth out again, and they take leave of one another, and when they are gone a few paces off, they interchangeably send a servant with an embassie or message (*To Pai Xam*) and recommendations.

When the visit is the first time made, and the Person be of quality, commonly tis with a present, assoon as they are come in: and for the most part in *China*, the ordinary and constant presents are some stuffs, ornaments for women, things of use; as Shoes, Stockings, Handkerchieffes, *Porcellane*, Inke, Pensils, and things to eat; and they do commonly choose those of the best sort to present.

The Present, if it be of things to eat among friends, it is to be of 4.6.8. or more things. With the present is sent also a *Thie*, or bill of visit, wherein is written what they have sent. If he do not accept of it, it is no discourtesie; neither if he take part only, and send back the rest: but he must answer him with a *Thie*, giving him thanks, and excusing himself, that he did not receive it; or if he do take part, he is to write, what he took, and what he sent back. Among men of greater quality, and that will shew respect to a Person without doing much harm to their purses, they write first, the things which they will send, and send the *Thie*, before they send the present; of which, because it ordinarily consisteth of many things, they do not receive all; and he who is presented maketh a prick at those things written in the *Thie*, which he will receive: then he, which presenteth, buyeth only the things which the other hath pricked, and letteth alone the rest: if he accepteth of them all, he buyeth them all and sendeth them.

There are some Imaginarie presents, of which, he that presenteth them, is secure, that little or nothing of them will be received; and yet they consist

consist of many things in number, as sometimes of thirty or fourty: and are costly in their quality; and pieces of Damask, and other silk stuffe, silk stockings; and many things to be eaten, as Hens, Ducks, &c. These things are many times hired, and that which is received, is paid for, the rest are sent back to the owner, with some consideration for the loan of them.

The custome is, that he, who receiveth a Present, is to return another æquivalent to it. Excepting alway edible things among friends; and that which any bringeth, when he cometh from abroad; and from Countries where those things are particularly to be had. Neither do they remunerate those, which they call *Presents of dependencie*; as from the inferiour to the superiour; from the Master to the Scholar; nor of pretenders and suitours.

It is also the custome to give the Page or Servant, which bringeth the Present, some mony, more or lesse, according to the quality of the present, shewing great respect to him that sends it.

They of *Kiamsi*, as more expert in their expences, and more cunning in the *Lesina*, or art of thrift, are very subtle and skilfull in this particular; and for a Present which is worth a Crowne, they say, they are to give the servant six pence, and proportionably in the rest.

CHAP. 13.

Of their Banquets.

Much time and money is consumed by the *Chinesses* in their *Banquets*, by reason they are almost continually at them. There is no meeting, departure, or arrivall, or any prosperous successe of a friend or kinsman, which is not celebrated with a *Banquet*; nor any accident of disgust or grief, for which they do not likewise make a *Banquet* of consolation; nor any businesse of importance, but it is to be treated of at a Banquet, neither without one do they begin any work, or finish any building. They make many others upon no other motive but this, *Comedamus, & bibamus, cras enim moriemur*; let us eate and drink, for to morrow we shall die.

It is very ordinary among the common people, and particularly among officers of the same office, to have *Co-fraternities* which they call a *Brotherhood* of the month. The *Brotherhood* consisteth of thirty, according to the number of daies therein; and in a circle they go every day to eat at one anothers houses by turnes, making a *Banquet*, like that of the sonnes of *Job*. If they have not convenience to receive them in their own house, they provide it at another mans, there being at this day many publick houses very wel furnisht for this purpose. If he wil have it at home, but without any trouble to his *Family*, he appointeth, how many messes he will have, how many dishes, and what meat; and they are brought home to him very well drest.

Those of the North are very much different from them of the South: for they of the South are very exact, even to the least matters in these courtesies of *Banquets*, and they do esteem themselves more friendly and courteous, than the others; as in truth they are.

In their *Banquets* they are more carefull to have varietie, and to have it well dreſt, than for the quantitie of the meat: and feaſt more for converſation and to treate with one another, than to eat and drink; although they do both the one and the other pretty well. They drink at the beginning of the feaſt, and ſo continue it with wine and meat, without bread or rice, till the gueſts ſay, they have had wine enough: Then preſently the rice is brought, and the glaſſes are ſet by, and there is no more drinking.

In the Northern Countries their cuſtome is contrary to this: The ceremonies are but few, the Meſſes well furniſht, the diſhes large and full: and when the ordinary ceremonies are performed, which are uſuall through the whole Kingdome, they begin with the meat; and every one taketh that which pleaſeth him beſt, and as much as he can eat; meanwhile without quenching thirſt, either with wine or water: for then they drink neither. They conclude with rice. When the diſhes are taken away, they diſcourſe about an houre; and then they ſerve in others, only of ſalt meats, as Gammons of Bacon, tongues, and ſuch like things, which they call *Guides*, that is, of wine; and then they begin to drink.

To ſpeak in generall of the whole Kingdome; they do not uſually drink wine, neither at dinner, which is in the morning five hours before noone, nor at ſupper, which is about foure a cloak in the afternoone; but at night before they go to bed, then uſing ſalt meats, as is aboveſaid: and for this reaſon their *Banquets* are moſt commonly at night; making uſe of the daylight for their ſtudyes and buſineſſe; ſupplying this light at night with candles, of which they have great quantitie, made of a certaine oyle, which they harden up with a little waxe; which ſerveth them in the winter; reſerving for the ſummer thoſe which are made of waxe; of which they have three ſorts: The one is Bees waxe; the other is taken out of the holes of a certain ſort of Snakes, much better than the other, and much whiter, without any art uſed to it. The third is taken from a tree, whoſe fruit is like our filberts, and the meat very white. And though this laſt, be not ſo good as our waxe; yet it is better than ſuet: it melteth very well, and maketh very good candles.

The people of the better qualitie make *Banquets* of more ſtate; for they have houſes of recreation, either in the City, or very neere it for this purpoſe; adorned with many coſtly pictures and other curioſities. And if the perſon invited be an Officer, or man of great qualitie, although the uſe of *Tapeſtrie-hanging* in *China* is very rare, yet for the entertainment of theſe, they hang their houſes with them very curiouſly, even the ſeeling and all. The number of their Tables ſheweth the greatneſſe of the *Banquet*. One Table for four, or one for two, is ordinary. But for perſons of greater account they ſet one Table for each; and ſometimes two; one to eat at, and the other to ſet the diſhes on. The Tables at theſe *Banquets* have all *Frontalls*, or a peice of linnen hanging downe from the edges, but neither Table-cloath nor Napkins, uſing only their *Charan*, a neate and poliſhed varniſh, with which their Tables are covered. They lay no knives, the meat being all carved out before it come from the kitchin; nor forke, uſing two little ſticks, with which they eat very dexterouſly. They ſet neither ſalt, pepper, nor vineger, but yet muſterd, and other ſauces, of which they have

have many and very good. They ſerve in at the ſame *Banquet* fleſh and fiſh; boyld and roaſt; fry'd meat; and meat in pottage and white-broth; and ſeverall other viands dreſt after their manner; and very good. They uſe broths much; but they never ſerve up any without fleſh or fiſh in it, or a kinde of Paſte, like that which the Italians call *Vermicelli*.

Anciently they uſed neither Tables nor ſeats, but according to the cuſtome of the greateſt part of *Aſia* and *Africa*, they ſate and eat upon the pavement, covered with mats; and to this day, their writings and books ſpeaking of Tables, uſe for the ſignificative letter of Table, that which ſignifieth a mat. The *Giapponeſſes*, with moſt of the neighbouring Kingdomes, even to this day, keep their ancient cuſtome, of ſitting and eating upon the ground: but the *Chineſſes*, from the raign of *Han*, have uſed ſeats and Tables; of which they have many beautifull ones, and of ſeverall faſhions.

In the diſpoſition of their invitations, courteſies, and enterrainments they have much ſuperfluitie; as well before the coming of the gueſts, as at the beginning, proſecution, and concluſion of their *Banquets*. Before they begin to eate, the maſter of the houſe inviteth them to fall to. About the middle of the feaſt they change their little cups for greater: they force none to drink, but modeſtly invite them. The times, when they moſt commonly and infallibly make their banquets; are the feaſtivall days, both of the year, and of each man in particular, as marriages, *&c.* Beſides other infinitie occaſions above mentioned.

The better ſort of people, when one takes a journey, or returns from another Countrie, do make a *Feaſt*; and it falleth out many times, that on the ſame day they are faine to go to ſeaven or eight invitations, to comply with their friends. Some daies before the *Banquet* (that is when they have time enough) they ſend a *Thie*, by which they make their invitation, and pray them to accept of it. If they refuſe, they excuſe themſelves with another *Thie*. But if they accept of it, they ſend them another *Thie*; which they call the *Thie of ſolicitation*. The time of the *Banquet* being come, they commonly ſtay, till all are met; entertaining themſelves in the outward Hall. When all are come, they enter into the Hall of the *Banquet*; and the maſter of the houſe performeth the uſuall ceremonies to them all, as well in ſitting, as in placing the cups and *eating-ſticks*. The ceremonies being ended, they all ſeate themſelves in their order; and the maſter of the houſe taketh care to go up and down, and invite them to eat and drink. Their *Banquets* are very long, and they ſpend much time in diſcourſing; but the ordinary cuſtome is to have *Muſick* and *Comedies*: and the Comedians are obliged to act whatſoever the Gueſts command them. At length the *Banquet* endeth, by the importunate entreatie of the Gueſts; to which he that inviteth them, ſtill ſeemeth to make reſiſtance. The day after the feaſt, all the Gueſts ſend their *Thie* to the perſon that invited them; which containeth partly the praiſe and commendations of the Banquet, and all that they had there, and partly their thanks to him that gave it them.

CHAP. 14.

Of the Games which the Chineſſes uſe.

PLaying at Cards, (which are like to ours in form and figures, which are all black and without colours) hath penetrated, even to this remoteſt part of the world, and is the common recreation of the meaner ſort of people, but is not uſed by the *Nobilitie*. But the game of the *Nobilitie*, and graver ſort of people, as well to paſſe the time, as to winne mony, is that of *Cheſſe*, not altogether unlike ours. Their *King* can never remove, but into the foure neereſt places to his own *Station*; which is alſo the law for the two *Biſhops*. They have no *Queen*, but two other men, which they call *Vaſi di Polvere*, or veſſells of duſt, very ingenious: Theſe ſtand before the two *Knights*; and before them two *Pawnes*; the which are placed in the next row before the other *Pawnes*. Theſe men have a motion like to our *Rookes*, but cannot *Check* the contrary *King*, but only, when between one of them and the King, there is another man immediately interpoſed, whether it be his own man, or an enemy. So that the *King* may avoyd that *Check* three manner of ways: either by removing into the next place, or by interpoſing another man; or elſe by taking away that man, that ſtood betwixt him and his enemie, &ſo, by laying himſelfe open, he is defended.

They have another grave game among them, which is as followeth. On a *Cheſſ-board* of 300. places; they play with 200. men, a hundred white, and a hundred black: with theſe, each endeavoureth to drive the others men into the middle of the *Cheſſ-board*, that he might be maſter of the other places: in concluſion he that hath gained himſelfe moſt places, winneth the game. In this game the officers do paſſe their time with a great deale of delight, and often ſpend a great part of the day at it; for between thoſe that are skilfull, one game will take up an hours time. Thoſe that are expert at this game, are well eſteemed, though it be only upon this account; and are therefore often called and received, as maſters of this *Game*, with all ceremonie.

The *Chineſſes* alſo uſe the game of *Dice*, which have the ſame ſhape and points, as ours, without any difference.

The common people do much uſe a game called by the *Italians Giuoco Della Morra*, caſting out their hands, and fingers, as they do at that game in *Europe*. They play moſt at it in their *Banquets*, between two, who ſhall drink; and he that loſeth, gaineth the drink.

The *Nobilitie*, for this purpoſe, have a drum placed without the Hall, where they eat; and there ſtandeth a man, who beateth on it at adventure as many ſtroaks, as he thinks fit; and when he beateth on the drum, they begin to count from the firſt man of the Banquet; and he at whom the drum ſtoppeth, is obliged to drink. In the City of *Nankim* there is another game much practiſed among the common people. They buy a couple of Capons, the beſt they can find, or elſe fiſh or *Porcellane*, or what other thing they pleaſe; but it muſt be excellent in its kind to excite an appetite

petite in others to win it. Then one holdeth in his hand, ten pieces of their mony, the which have letters on the one side, and on the other nothing. This man offereth them to him that will throw, and he throweth them ten times; and if in any of these times all the pieces light with the same side upward, either written or not written, he gaineth the reward that is proposed, if not, he loseth an halfe-penny.

There is not wanting in *China* the game of *Cock-fighting*, which is used also throughout all *India*: they have *Cocks* bred up for this purpose. Before they fight they fasten to each legg neare to their spurs a small razour: then he that keepeth the field, having made the other fly or fall, is *Conquerour*, and winneth the other cock, and whatsoever was abetted on his head. But because many times they wound one another so just at the same time, that they both fall together, that Cock, which after he is fallen, pecks at the other, or croweth, is accounted *victour*.

They combate after the same manner with *Quailes*; and to his purpose they commonly breed up the *Cock-Quails* with great care. This *Game* is particularly in request among the *Kings* kindred, and the *Eunuches* of the Palace; in which they spend a great deale of mony. These birds do fight very furiously and desperately.

They fight likewise with *Grillo's*, or *Cricquets*; and this sport is much used in the Spring time. They have little houses made of clay very artificially to keep them in: when they fight them, each man pulleth out his *Cricquet*, and putteth him into a Bason, or other clean vessell, and, with a little slice, or spattle, they put them to one another, and when they are neere enough to launce at one another, they do it with such fury, that many times one will fetch off the others leg at the first blow. He that conquereth, presently singeth, and winneth the game. This game is much used in *Pekim*, and particularly by the *Eunuchs*, who spend a great deale of money at it.

They do not permit young children, that study; to play at any game; the bigger sort have games proper to their age, which are very like those our youth have in *Europe*.

They are forbidden to play at cards or dice; and if they be taken, or accused for it, they are chastised and condemned to a pecuniary mulct; and some are imprisoned only for spending too much time at play. For among them *Tù Pó*, that is, glutton of play, foundeth as ill, as any other vice, which we abhorr here.

CHAP. 15.

Of their Marriage.

IN the Kingdome of *China*, (as doth plainly appear by their books, and Chronicles,) formal *Marriages* and indissoluble after contract, have been in use above 2400 yeares; and in ancient time they used certain particular Ceremonies at the celebration thereof; one of which was, giving the hand. But these have been changed by time, some being taken away, and many others added.

Alwayes

Alwaies from that time to this, there hath been among them two kinds of *Marriage*; one a true one, with a matrimoniall contract for their whole life between the two parties; and then the woman is called a *wife*; and treated as such, and received with extraordinary Ceremonies.

The second is rather a *Concubinage* permitted by their lawes, in case they have no children by their *wife*; especially sonnes, but now it is grown so common, that although some do forbear having them upon the account of vertue; yet it is very ordinary among rich men, to take *Concubines*, although they have children. The manner is very different from the true and legitimate *Marriage*; for although they contract after some sort with the Father of the maiden: and that they treat one another as kindred; yet in truth she is bought and sold; and many times by a Person that hath no relation to her, but only that he bred her up for that purpose; for there are many in *China*, which breed up young maidens, and teach them Musick, and dancing, and other perquisites of womens breeding, only to sell them afterwards for *Concubines*, at a great price. Yet however it is not accounted a *Matrimony*; nor hath it the solemnitie of *Marriage* belonging to it; nor any obligation of perpetuity; but the man may put her away; and she may marrie with another; there being no law which prohibits it, in case she be wholly withdrawn from the company of the first.

The manner of treating them is very different They eat apart by themselves in their own chambers: and are in subjection to the true *wife*, and serve her in some things, as her Servants. The children which they beare, do not do them reverence as to a mother, but they pay it to the true *wife*, whom also they call mother. Hence it is, that if the *Concubine* die that bore them, they are not obliged to three years mourning, nor to deprive themselves of entrance into the examinations, nor (if they govern,) to quit their charge; which, (as you shall hear hereafter,) is to be done at the death of their parents. Therefore, although he be an only sonne, he is not obliged to these duties: but only when his Fathers lawfull *wife* dieth, although she be not his true mother. When the *Husband* dieth, the government of the estate and family falleth to the lawfull *wife*, and to the children, whether they be, by her, or by the *Concubine*. But when the lawfull *wife* dieth, it falleth to the *Concubine* and her children, if she have any.

Sometimes it falleth out, that they take a *Concubine*, and keep her only, till she bring them a sonne: for, if the lawfull *wife* will not suffer her to stay, assoone as the child is born, they send her away, or marry her to another; & the child which staieth behind, never knoweth her who bore him, acknowledging only for his Mother his Fathers lawfull *wife*. It happeneth also many times, that a man taketh an excessive affection to his *Concubine*, and then all goeth amisse, but only in what belongeth to the outward observance, which must not be changed. *Widows* may marry, if they will; but they that are women of qualitie seldome or never do it; no although they be young and have no children. They are to live in their Father in laws house, and are for this reason much esteemed.

In the legitimate *Marriage* for the most part, they observe an equalitie of

of estate and condition; but in their *Concubines*, they have regard only to their naturall endowments. They may not marry with any of their kindred on their Fathers side, in no degree whatsoever, nor with any of the same *Sir-name*; but they may marry with their kindred on the Mothers side, if they be in a remote degree; but that is not so exactly observed. A young maid will hardly marry with a widdower, which they call *patching up the house, and the bed.*

They never marry, although they be never so great friends, without a Mediator, or one that goeth between both parties; wherefore they chuse whom they please, there being as well men as women, who perform this office. The *Bride-groom* never seeth the *Bride*, before he entreth the doore to take her for his wife: there Fathers marry their sonnes ordinarilie very young, & promise them in *Mariage* even from little children, & sometimes before they are borne, which promise these punctually performe, although their Fathers die before the time, or one of the parties fall from his honour, or estate, &c. excepting both parties voluntarily agree to break off the contract: & if by chance the sonne for some respects will not stand to the contract made by his father, they compel him by law to perform it.

In *China*, before the Father die, there is no formall portion given, either to sonne or daughter; among the meaner sort of people the ordinarie custome is, not absolutely to buy their *wives*, as some say, but the *husband* giveth a certain quantitie of mony to the Father of the maid, with which to buy her clothes, and ornaments for her head, suitable to her qualitie. This summe is alwaies of the largest for that purpose; but the Fathers save as much out of it, as they can; what remaineth, being to accrue to them. Hence it is, that some have said, that the *Chinesses* buy their wives; there being not wanting some ground for this beleefe: for to this day they agree with the Father of the maid for so much money; which if it be not given them, they wil not part with their daughter.

Among the *Nobility* there is no talk of giving any money, but the Father of the *Bride* is obliged to comply with what the stile and custome of that Kingdome requireth, each according to their abilitie: and commonly that which he giveth is all necessary Furniture for her apartment, excepting the bed; which, although all things are very cheap in that Country, will sometimes cost fifty Crowns. He giveth her four or two maid servants, to wait upon her, and some money; and of all this more or lesse, according to his ability. But land or possession they almost never give, unlesse the Brides Father be very rich, or that he would match her to some principall Person; and that only in case he have no sonnes.

After the contract is performed between their Fathers, then there follow many curtesies and compliments; as first, the *Bride-groom* sendeth the *Bride* a present of things to eate, as flesh, wine, and fruit; Secondly, a day is chosen for their *Marriage*: which, when it is resolved on by advice of *Astrologers*, is celebrated with great Ceremonie. The third is, to send to know the *Brides* name; and last of all, the *Bride-groom* sendeth the jewels to the *Bride*, that is, a ring and eare-pendants, &c.

The day before the *Bride* is to be received; they send from the *Brides* house the *Houshould-stuffe* and *Furniture* that is given with her; making a

procession

procession with them; which is to be done about noone, that all may see it; The men that carry it, go two and two, each of them bearing a piece of houshold-stuff of the same kind, that the other doth, whether it be *Tables, Chaires, Chests, Curtains, Bed*, or what other thing soever.

The day following, in some Provinces, the *Bridegroome* goeth in person on Horse-back, with his Father and neerest kindred, to receive the *Bride*: who is carried in a sedan with great pompe and state. In other Provinces, especially towards the South, the *Bride-groome* sendeth the sedan toward the evening (they have some very curious ones, made only for this purpose, richly adorned with silk, and the doore to be locked on the outside) and a great deale of company to waite upon her with lights set in wooden frams like lanthornes. The mother after the *Bride* hath finished the usuall compliment, at parting, putteth her into the sedan and locketh the doore, and sendeth the key before to her sonne-in-laws mother; and so she departeth along with the company, who go all before her, excepting the maid-servants, which her Father giveth her, who go by her side.

When she is come to the *Bride-groomes* house, the mother-in-law unlocketh the sedan and taking out the *Bride*, delivereth her to the *Bride-groome*; Then they go both together to the Chappell, or Oratorie of their Idols, where are likewise kept the Images or names of their Predecessours. There they make the ordinarie reverence of bowing themselves foure times upon their knees, and presently they go forward into the inward Hall, where their parents are sitting in Chaires, to whom they make the same reverences; then the *Bride* retireth with her Mother-in-law, her waiting maids, and the woman that did negotiate the marriage, to the womens apartment; where she hath a particular chamber for her selfe and her husband; into which, as is aboveſaid, no other man may enter, no not their Father or elder brother, so that if the Father would chastise the son for any fault, (which is ordinarie there for their Fathers to do, although their sonnes be married) if he can get into his wives chamber he is safe, for the Father may not enter there, nor speak with his daughter-in-law, except on some occasions, which are dispensed with: So carefull a watch do they keep on that *precious Gemme of Honour*. The *Bridegroome*, when he doeth not retire, stayeth with his Father, kindred, and friends, *&c.* Who spend many daies together in continuall feasts and banquetting: when the first month is over, the Bride returneth home to her Fathers house, which they call *Queinim*, that is retiring to rest.

The sonnes do all equally inherit; although they be but halfe-Brothers, and not begotten on the lawfull wife, having regard in this only to the Father. The sisters have no more than what is given with them at their marriage. If the Father die before he hath married his daughters, the brothers are obliged to bestow them in marriage; and the sonnes that are already married, (if the Father in his life time divide his estate among them,) are bound to maintaine their sisters, till they are married.

Nevertheless in *China* there are some families, especially of the *Nobilitie*, where the eldest sonnes do inherit the *Majoraſgo*, or the most considerable part of the land, if they have any that is so entaild; although they have other brothers. And these children are called *Que Cum, Chu, Hui, Heupè, Chei, Hei*.

CHAP.

CHAP. 16.

Of the Funeralls and Sepultures of the Chineſses.

ALthough the *Chineſſes*, in many things, eſpecially thoſe which concerne the government of their life, have been of the ſame opinion with the *Europæan* Philoſophers, yet they are very different from them in that which belongeth to *Death*. For the others have taken little or no care about the *Sepulture* of the body, whereas theſe eſteem nothing more; uſing in their life time all poſſible diligence to leave every thing ready and in order for it; and their ſonnes do in nothing more ſhew their pietie and obedience, than by putting it in execution after their Fathers death.

It is a generall cuſtome of the whole Kingdome, not to bury any one barely in the earth, although it be a child of two daies old. Every one is to have his *Cheſt*, or *Coffin* according to his qualitie, and abilitie. Wherefore the rich men, (although the *Chineſſes* are very thrifty, and parcimonious) do in this exceed all extreames, ſeeking out wood for that purpoſe, of the greateſt price and eſteem, that they poſſibly can,

The *Eunuches* are the moſt exceſſive this way, becauſe they have no children to inherit their wealth; giving many times 500 or 1000 Crowns for Bords to make a *Coffin*, though in realitie, theſe are not ſo much worth. For it happeneth many times, that going to a Merchant, that ſelleth this commoditie, the Merchant ſetteth them a price, asking them five or ſix hundred Crownes, but telleth them withall, that if they will have Bords of a thouſand Crownes, he hath not any at preſent, but that he hath expected ſome a great while, and looketh every day, when they ſhould arrive: and if his Lordſhip hath not extraordinary haſt, praieth him to ſend ſome few daies hence, and he ſhall be accommodated. Here, the Merchant hath no more to do, but to change the paper, which is paſted upon thoſe Bords, and with it the price; and when the *Eunuch* returneth he findeth bords of ſuch price as he deſireth. When the *Cheſt* is made with all ſort of exquiſite ornament on the outſide, as of gold, *Charan*, and other gallantries, they keep it in their houſe, and many times in the ſame chamber where they lie, with much ſatisfaction and contentment. As contrariwiſe, if, being in yeares, they have not already made it, they are alwayes ill ſatisfied and diſcontented: and truly it is a great trouble and charge to the Sons, if they have ancient Fathers, and their *Funerall Cheſt* be not yet prepared.

This is the uſuall manner of the whole Kingdome; but, becauſe they have taken their religion from the *Pagods* of *India*, they have alſo entertained ſome of their Ceremonies and ſuperſtitions, who are buried after three ſeverall manners, and that, before they die by the courſe of nature, in the earth, in the water, and in the fire, (as they do to this day in *Giappon*) ſome throwing themſelves off from high places, others drowning themſelves in rivers, with ſtones tied about their necks, and others, other wayes, which we will not here treat of. The *Chineſſes* are not ſo valiant to do this, while they are living, but being dead, if they are ſo poor, that they cannot make them a *Coffin*, they burne them, and bury their aſhes. In the

Province of *Sucheú* they burn the bodie, and put the aſhes in earthern *Iarres*, cloſe ſtopped; and then caſt them into the rivers.

After the *Cheſt*, followeth the place of *Sepulture*, which every one provideth for himſelf and his poſterity, without the wals: for within, it is not permitted. Of theſe places they make great account. Some have in them very convenient houſes: they are kept lockt on the out-ſide, and within are full of *Cypreſſes*, (which they uſually plant there,) and other trees, proper for that place. They are many times little worth, in reſpect of the quantitie of ground they contain; but do coſt them a great deal of mony, if their *Aſtrologer* do judge them lucky places, and fortunate for the Familie; for none do make choice of them, without his opinion.

In *Burying*, they obſerve this order, to lay the chief of the Family in the uppermoſt place, and the reſt by his ſide according to their degrees. On the topp of the *Sepulchre*, they place many ornaments wrought in ſtone; and before them they ſet Stone-ſtatues of ſeverall *Animals*; and (above all) *Epitaphs*; and ſtones graved with elegant compoſitions, in praiſe of the deceaſed. The great men, eſpecially the Eunuches uſe another way of more vaſt expence. For they build in ſuch places, *Sumptuous Palaces*, with Halls underneath them like *Cæmeteries*; where there are *Niches* fitted to receive the *Coffins* of the deceaſed. Theſe *Palaces* ſerve them when they go thither; and on *The day of the dead*; at which time the whole Family is aſſembled to make their Sacrifices and Ceremonies. For the poorer ſort of people, that cannot have a peculiar place of *Sepulture*, there is ordinarily, in every City, a common place of *Buriall*.

They never faile to bury every one in the place of his *Sepulture*, although it be never ſo remote from that where he dieth; which happeneth often to the officers, who by reaſon they are ſent to govern in ſeverall parts of the kingdome, do many times come to die out of their own Country, and upon that occaſion cauſe them to be brought home and buried there: neither doth it ſeem a cuſtome voide of reaſon, *Iacob* and *Joſeph* having uſed the ſame diligence upon that account.

At their death the firſt *Ceremony* is: that before the dying Perſon breathe his laſt, they bring him on a matti eſſe, or quilt, into the outward Hall, where he is to expire. I do not know, what is the reaſon of this cuſtome; neither is it generally uſed of all; for if he be a perſon of qualitie, they let him alone in his bed, and aſſoon as he is dead, his eldeſt Son plucketh off the *Coife* and Cap from his head, and pulling down the bed without any order overturneth the Beds-Teſter and curtaines; and partly by tearing, and partly by breaking, pulleth every thing down, and with it covereth the Corps. If it be a woman, the women ſtay; and if it be a man, the men; preſently waſhing the dead Body according to their cuſtome. When they have waſhed it; they wind it in a fine linnen cloth, if he have any; or elſe in a piece of ſilk. After that, they cloathe him in the beſt garment that he hath, and upon him they lay the enſignes of his office and degree: and when he is, thus adorned: they lay him into the Coffin, which is made of very thick boards, and ſtrongly joynted. On the inſide of the Coffin they beſtow two weights, which they call *Manos* of Bitumen; and after that one of *Charan*; and then

then there is no danger, that any ill ſmell can come through it.

The *Coffin* is then brought out, and placed in the outward hall, which is all hung with mourning. On the top of the *Coffin* they lay his ſtatue made by the life, with his enſignes of honour, juſt as he lieth in the *Coffin*. Before it, they ſet a Table and a Carpet; behinde the *Coffin*, they hang up certaine curtaines; behind which, the women ſtand. On each ſide of the *Coffin* are his ſonnes and grand-ſonnes *ſitting* on ſtraw in very deep mourning. In the firſt open *Gallerie* ſet about with *Balanſters*, which is before the hall, there ſtand Trumpeters on each ſide thereof; and at the great gate of the Palace, on the inſide, in the Court, are two drummers: without the gate next the ſtreet there is hung out a great flagge, made of pieces of paper reaching almoſt to the ground, and it is a ſignall, that their mourning is provided, and that now they admit of viſitants. After that, they adviſe all their friends and kindred thereof, ſending them a *Thie* of Mourning, wherein, with words of much affliction and humilitie, they give them notice of their ſorrow.

Then preſently begin their *Viſits* of *Condoling*, which are done in this manner: When the *Viſitant* is come into the firſt Court, preſently he putteth on his *Mourning-garment*, which he bringeth with him for that purpoſe. The drummer beateth his drumme to give notice of his arrivall, and while he paſſeth through the Court, the Trumpets ſound; aſſoone as he cometh into the Hall, the women behind the *Curtains* begin to weep and lament. When he cometh up to the Table he layeth thereon a purſe of paper; with money in it to the value of twelve pence, or eighteen pence; (which ſerveth for an *Aide* of the coſt,) and ſome little perfumes: Then upon the Carpet he maketh foure reverences, part kneeling, and part ſtanding on his feet: When they are ended, preſently the Sonnes riſe up from the place where they are, and go and place themſelves on the left hand of the *Viſitant*, and make him as many reverences, partly kneeling, and partly on their feet, at which time they are to weep, or at leaſt to make as if they wept: When this is done, without ſpeaking a word, they return to their places againe: In the meane time the *Viſitant* goeth forward, and preſently one of the remoteſt of the kindred, in ſlighter mourning, cometh to receive him, and leadeth him into another roome; where aſſoone as they are ſate, preſently there is brought in ſome of their drink, called *Chia*, and dried fruits, or elſe dried ſweet meats; of which for the moſt part they do not eat, but taking a little, put it into their ſleeve, and ſo take their leave.

This courteſie is eſteemed ſo due, that thoſe friends, who are at hand, may by no means omit it; and they who are farther off, if they dwell in neighbouring Cities, come in their own perſon: But if they live very farre off, they ſend one from home to do it in their name. This *ceremonie* commonly laſteth eight or ten daies. But they who live farre off, may come, or ſend to do it, at what time they pleaſe.

When the *Viſits* are over, the eldeſt Sonne is obliged to go to all thoſe of the ſame City, that came to *condole* with him at his houſe; but he hath no more to do, but to come to the gate; where (without) a Carpet is ſpread, wheron he maketh his reverence, leaveth a *Thie*, and goeth his way.

After this, they begin to think of the *buriall*, which (if they are able) is performed with a great deale of expence; if not, they leave the *Cheſt* ſtanding at home, till they are better able; which is ſome times whole years firſt. They give notice of the *funerall* to their friends, by ſending a *Thiè* to each, as at the firſt: Who being aſſembled, come preſently to the place above mentioned. Firſt of all, are carried the *Pageants*, which are ſeverall great ſtatues of men, Horſes, Elephants, Lyons, Tigers, *&c.* They are all made of painted paper, and adorned with gilding. Beſides theſe, are carried ſeverall other machines, as Triumphant Chariots, Pyramids, and ſuch like things; every thing being ſet out with various works, in ſilke, and flowres, and roſes of the ſame materialls; all which is to be burnt, if the Perſon be of great qualitie: For otherwiſe all theſe are but hired, and none of them is burnt.

After theſe *Pageants*, followeth the multitude of people which come to looke on; then come all their friends cloathed in *mourning*; after theſe, the *Bonzi*, ſinging out their prayers, and ſounding their Cymballs; after them, come another ſort of *Bonzi*, who weare beards, and long haire, and leading a ſingle life, live in communitie: Theſe go playing upon ſeverall muſicall Inſtruments. After theſe, follow another race of *Bonzi*, of a different ſect; Theſe are ſhaved, and go along alſo ſaying their prayers. After theſe, come the more intimate friends; after them, follow all the kinſmen; after theſe, come the ſonnes and grand-ſonnes of the deceaſed Perſon, cloathed in a very *auſtere mourning*, bare footed, with certaine ſtaves in their hand, faſhioned like thoſe which pilgrimes carry; ſo ſhort, that they are little above two palmes long; and ſo they go along hanging their heads downe.

Immediately after theſe cometh the *Coffin*; which if it be made of precious wood, is uncovered, that it might be ſeen; elſe it is varniſhed over, and richly adorned with gold and *Charan*. It is placed on a very large *Machine*, carried ſometimes by 30, 40. or 50. men, which is ſtill the greater ſtate, the more they are. Above it, is faſtened a *Baldacchino* or cloath of ſtate, which covereth it all over head, having his rich Taſſels and ſtrings hanging downe by the ſides. Neere to this on both hands, are carried many lights in great woodden frames, made like lanthorns; behind the *Coffin*, are carried the women, crying and lamenting in ſedans faſt locked, and covered all over with mourning, accompanied in the ſame manner by their female-friends and kindred. When they are come to the place of *Sepulture*, they performe ſeverall *ceremonies* both before and after the *Coffin* is buried: And a ſumptuous banquet, (which they make for all thoſe that accompanyed the hearſe) is none of the worſt *ceremonies* among them. And this is one of the occaſions, wherein they make uſe of thoſe faire houſes they build in thoſe places.

When they are returned home, then followeth the time of *mourning*, and the *ceremonies* that are then obſerved; which are theſe that follow. The firſt and moſt univerſall, is to cloath themſelves in the courſeſt and heavieſt *mourning*; the colour thereof is white, not only in theſe Kingdomes, but alſo in *Giappon*, *Corea*, and many other neighbouring Kingdomes: and as it ſeemeth to me, this white colour was not choſen at the beginning

beginning for its one ſake, but came in, as it were, by conſequence: for they themſelves cannot give any reaſon, why their prede ceſſours choſe it; and on the other ſide they know, that it is a cheereful colour, and as ſuch they weare it at certain times: the reaſon therefore of it ſeemeth to me to be, becauſe in *China* they make no cloath but of Cotton, Silk, and Hemp. Of Silk and Cotton there is no courſe cloath to be made, but of Hempe indeed there is, ſuch as would make one afraid to ſee it. And becauſe in its naturall colour it is more unſightly and horrid, than when it is died and coloured, they on purpoſe chuſe to have it ſo: whence it being naturally white, by conſequence, white came to be the proper colour for *mourning*.

This *Mourning* laſteth three whole years; during which time, the ſons do never ſit on a chaire, but on a little fourm, or ſtoole, covered with *Mourning*: they eate not at a Table, nor lie on a Bed-ſtead, but the bed is laid on the floore: they drink no wine, eate no fleſh, nor uſe any Baths, (which are very common among them.) They go not to Banquets, nor do they go out of their doores, but in a Sedan cloſe ſhut, and covered with mourning. They abſtain from their own wives (as they ſay at leaſt:) if there be any examinations in that time, they go not to them: they may not hold any publick office; and if, at the time, they do actually exerciſe any, their Father or Mother chance to die, although he be *vice-roy*, or *Colao*, he muſt leave his office, and attend to bury them, and to make their *obſequies*; and when the *Mourning* is ended, they returne to their charges and offices againe, and ſometimes to greater.

This time is accounted ſo ſacred among them, that it admitteth of no diſpenſation, except it be in their captaines and officers of warre. And becauſe one of the Province of *Cantone* ſeemed more deſirous of his government, than to obſerve his Mourning, and computing his time, reſolved to ſpend the reſt in his journey, which he wanted to make up his three years, when he came to the court, and petitioned for his office, it was promiſed him upon this condition, that he ſhould returne home to his houſe, and fully accompliſh his time of *Mourning*, and then he ſhould come againe to court, and make his demand.

The number of three years, they ſay, is to give thanks to their Parents for the three yeares of their infancie, during which time they were carried more in their armes, than on their own legges. And therefore in thoſe three yeares, in token of reverence, they may not innovate or alter any thing in the houſe from that order, which the Father kept in it.

For a wife they mourne but one year. There is a *Slighter Mourning* of five months and three daies, according to the neerneſſe of their kindred and relation: Friends for their friends obſerve only Three daies of Mourning. They have all Mourning garments lye ready by them; there being ſo many occaſions to weare them.

This is the manner of their *Mourning* and *Buriall* of the Perſons of the greateſt quality, which is encreaſed and diminiſhed, according to the condition and qualitie of the Perſon. At the Funeralls of the Kings, and thoſe of the royall Familie, the *Ceremonies* are much greater: and that they might the better be conceived, I will ſet down what

paſſed

paſſed in the year 1614. at the *Funerall* of the *Queen-Mother*, where I my ſelfe was preſent.

CHAP. 17.

Of the Funerall of the Queen-Mother.

THe *Queen-Mother* died on the ninth day of the ſecond Moon, which is the laſt of our March, in the yeare 1614. preſently all the Court put on *Mourning*, not only the *Nobilitie*, but even the common people too; and eſpecially the Kings officers and Miniſters, who laying aſide the enſignes of their dignitie, (which are both of *Authoritie* and *Ornament* to them) do change them for others of *Mourning* and *Sorrow*: as their *Girdle*(which commonly they weare very rich) into a *rope* of courſe Hempe; and their *Cap* (which is of black Silk) into *one* made of the courſe cloath for *Mourning*. In this manner they went foure months, till the time of the *obſequies*. The common people wore only a Mourning Cap for foure and twenty daies, with ſo much exactneſſe, that he that neglected it, was puniſhed.

The ſecond day, the King leaving the Palaces where he dwelt, paſſed over to thoſe of his deceaſed *Mother*; which, although they are within the ſame wall, yet ſtand at ſome diſtance. They cloathed the dead body in white very richly; and every day till it was put into the Coffin, the King went in Perſon, with all the people of his palace to viſit her, and to performe thoſe ordinary Reverences and Compliments, uſed by children to their parents, putting rich odours and ſpices into a perfuming pan, which ſtood before her; all his women, Sons and Nephews, as alſo ſome of the *Principall Eunuches* of the Palace did the like with all *Solemnitie*. Then preſently; by the Kings command, the garments, bed and other things which the *Queen* uſed, were burned: judging it an unworthie thing that ever they ſhould be made uſe of by any Perſon inferiour to her in *dignitie* and *authority*.

On the third day the body was put into the *Coffin*. The excellency of the matter thereof may be eaſily imagined by what hath been already ſaid, that even for private perſons the price of one amounteth many times to a thouſand crownes. The boards are very thick, and the *Coffin* very capacious. There the King himſelfe plac't her upon a *Quilt* and a Pillow, which were there laid, ſtrewing upon her, pearle, and precious ſtones to the value of 70000. crownes, and placing by her ſide fifty pieces of cloath of gold, and fiftie of cloath of ſilver, which truly would have been enough to have maintained a gallant man all his life time. The Coffin was ſhut, and the King with the reſt made their accuſtomed reverences, and departed.

On the fourth day the *ceremonies* were continued, cloathing themſelves in a more auſtere and horrid Mourning, for to celebrate the Sacrifices, which

which in realitie are not ſacrifices, but offerings, and pure ceremonies. The *Coffin* was placed in a ſpacious Court, as it were, upon a high Throne, and about it ſtood fifteen Tables: The firſt, that was in the front, was for the King; the reſt for his women, *Sonnes* and *principall Eunuches*, who, after the King, according to their order, made their offerings with perfumes and reverences.

On the fift day, which was appointed for thoſe who dwell without the Palace, there was aſſembled all the *Nobilitie* and *Titulados*, which they call *Que*, *Cùm*, *Chu*, *Cheu*, *Heupè*, who do all ſucceed by inheritance. After theſe, followed all thoſe that were of Affinitie and Alliance with the King, that is, ſuch as were married to his Daughters or Nieces. After theſe, the *Magiſtrates* of the ſix *Tribunals*: And after theſe, came the wives of the great Officers, who have juriſdiction over the whole Kingdome, ſuch as are thoſe of the ſix *Tribunals*, each in that which appertaineth to him; whether it be concerning the Revenue, or the *Militia*, or any other thing. All theſe in their order performed the *ceremonies* aboveſaid: and ſo there was a period put to the firſt part of the *ceremonies*, which are uſed in the Palace before the *Funerall*; for abroad there were many things commanded, and ſeverall edicts publiſhed; in which were intimated:

Firſt, that all *Mandarines*, both of the *Gowne* and *Sword*, ſhould make their appearance at the Palace the day following, to bewaile the *deceaſed Queen*: which done, without returning to their houſes, they ſhould go directly to their *Tribunalls*, there to remain and keep a faſt for three daies, without eating fleſh, fiſh, or eggs, or drinking any wine. That done, for the ſpace of other three daies, they ſhould come all to the gates of the Palace, and there in their order, one by one, ſhould make foure accuſtomed reverences, with ſome other externall ſignes of griefe, and then returne home to their houſes.

The ſecond: that all the wives of the *Mandarines*, from the firſt to the fourth degree, cloathed from head to foot in cloſe *mourning*, ſhould aſſemble at the ſame place, and for the ſpace of three days lament in the like manner: and that afterwards, at their owne houſes, for the ſpace of twenty ſeaven days, they ſhould not put on their Jewells, ornaments, *&c.*

The third; that thoſe of the *Royall Councell*, called *Han Lin* ſhould all make Poems, verſes, and compoſitions in praiſe of the *deceaſed Queen*.

The fourth: that they of the *Quan Lo Su*, that is, the Officers of the Kings exchequer and revenue, ſhould, with all diligence and liberalitie, provide what ever was neceſſary, for the ſacrifices and other expences of the funerall.

The fifth: that all the *Bonzi*, and miniſters of the Idols, ſhould ring their bells for a long time, as a ſigne of ſorrow and griefe.

The ſixth: that for thirteen daies there ſhould be no fleſh killed, or ſold in the ſhambles: but that all ſhould faſt, as the King did; who, for the firſt three days, did eat only a little rice boyled in faire water, and the reſt of the time, pulſe only.

The ſeaventh; there was order given to the Preſident of the Councell of rites and *ceremonies*, and to thoſe of the chamber, that they ſhould preſent *mourning* garments to all the Embaſſadours, who did then actually reſide

ſide in the Court; and that they ſhould be brought to the Palace and performe one day the *ceremonies* and compliments in like manner, as the people of the Country did.

The eighth: that all *Mandarines*, that had finiſhed their government, and all new pretenders ſhould come for three days to the Palace, to do the ſame reverences and *ceremonies*.

The ninth: that the common people, for a week together, ſhould do the ſame, morning and evening, at the Palace of the Governour of the City.

Beſides this, all the *Mandarines*, diſperſed through the Provinces and Cities of the Kingdome, were written to; that at the arrivall of the newes of the *Queen-Mothers* deceaſe, they ſhould give notice thereof to all the blood royall of the Male line, and to their wives and children; and order, that they ſhould make the three accuſtomed reverences, and other *ceremonies* on their knees; and immediately to cloath themſelves in *Mourning* for ſeaven and twenty days. This order was given to all the *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, as well to thoſe that had governd, as to thoſe that did actually governe, as alſo to all *Litterati*, of what degree ſoever, as likewiſe to thoſe that had not received any degree.

To the common people there was order given, that they ſhould weare *Mourning* caps for thirteen dayes.

Moreover it was ordered, that as well in the Palaces of the *Mandarines*, as in the publick Innes on the high wayes, and in ſmall villages, where travellers are lodged at the Kings expence, no muſick, either of voice or inſtrument, ſhould be ſuffered. And this order was divulged by *Mandarines* appointed only for this occaſion. And when this order came to the Court of *Nankim*, all the officers, both of the *Gowne* and *Sword*, went out to meet it as farre as the river, all in deep *Mourning*, even to their *Umbrellas*, wherewith they keep off the ſunne; and accompanied it through the City, in an orderly proceſſion, as farre as the *Tribunal* of rites and *ceremonies*; where the Preſident received the order in writing; and ſet it up in an eminent conſpicuous place, and all of them did their reverence to it; after that, he tooke the letter and opened it, and made proclamation of the order, although there wanted nothing to the execution thereof, but that the common people had not yet their *Mourning* caps.

Theſe were the *ceremonies*, which preceded the *Funerall*; the which being ended, order was given to the *Mathematician Major*, or chiefe Aſtrologer of the Court of *Pekim*, that he ſhould make choiſe of a day or days, whereon the *Obſequies* ſhould be ſolemnized. He, after he had conſulted his art, appointed the ninth day of the ſixth moone (foure months compleat after the *Queens* death) to be the day, whereon the corps ſhould be brought out of the Palace, and the fifteenth of the ſame moone, for the day of the *Funerall*. The time being come, order was given for the ſolemnizing thereof in form following.

Firſt; that all the *Mandarines* of the Court, and *Magiſtrates* of the ſix *Tribunals*, ſix days before, ſhould leave their own houſes, and make their abode at their *Tribunals*, and ſhould faſt for three dayes in manner abovesaid.

Secondly

Secondly, that the Officers of the Kings Patrimonie and Revenue ſhould prepare whatſoever was neceſſary, for that occaſion; that is, great quantitie of Candles, Perfumes, Spices, great ſtore of *Phantaſticke* figures, and Images of men, Horſes, Lions, Elephants, *Vmbrellas* of Silk, all richly ſet out, that they might be burnt at the place of *Sepulture*. It is reported, that there were ſpent in this above 30000 Crowns. I make no doubt, but ſo much was ſpent; but that it was afterwards all burnt, is hard to be proved; It may be, fame was ſomething extravagant in that particular.

Thirdly, that they of the Colledge of *Han Lin* ſhould anew, make other verſes proper for the *Funerall*.

Fourthly, becauſe the King was to accompany the Body to the *Sepulture*, which is twelve miles diſtant from the Court, he named another Perſon, who in his ſtead ſhould performe all the compliments and neceſſarie *Ceremonies*.

Fifthly, order was given to all the Officers, Captaines, & Souldiers, that they ſhould keep a Guard in the City, and at the *Sepulchre*, and that they ſhould accompanie the Body, by the way, in this manner, That at every gate of the City, (which are nine in all) there ſhould ſtand a thouſand men: That from the gate, through which the Body was to paſſe, to the place of *Sepulture*, there ſhould ſtand two rancks of Souldiers: that there ſhould be 3000 to carry the *Coffin* by turnes; and 10000 horſemen to accompany it: and for the Guard of the *Royall Sepulchres*, while the *Obſequies* laſted, 40000.

Sixtly, order was given to levell the way from the Palace to the place of *Sepulture*, and to raile it in on both ſides, that the people might not ſtop up the way. At every twenty paces, there was ſet a basket of yellow earth, for to ſtrow in the way, as the Hearſe paſſed; as alſo, that Tents, and Pavillions ſhould be ſet up in certaine places: for the refreſhment of thoſe that accompanied the Body.

Seaventhly, command was given to all the officers of the revenue, that they ſhould provide, with all punctualitie and liberalitie, whatſoever was neceſſary for the ſuſtenance and diet of the *Mandarines*, *Eunuchs*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and all others, that by duty of their place, attended upon the *Funerall Solemnitie*.

Eighthly, that three daies before the *Funerall*, the *Mourning*, Lamentation, Reverences and Sacrifices ſhould be renewed in like manner, as at the beginning.

Ninthly, and laſtly it was commanded; that from the ſeaventh (that is, two daies before the *Funerall Solemnitie* began) to the twentieth of that Moon, no Shambles ſhould be opened, neither fleſh nor fiſh ſold, in any manner, nor that any noiſe of mirth, or Muſicall inſtrument ſhould be heard any where throughout the City.

All things being ſet in order for the *Funerall*; on the ſeaventh of the ſixth moone the King and Prince with all the officers, went to the Temple of his *Anceſtours*, which ſtandeth within the *Royall Palaces*: where, cloathed in deep Mourning, and coming before the Image of the firſt founder of his Familie, he made a low Reverence, and after offered to his deceaſed Mother, whoſe Image was yet ſtanding there, many Garments

of ſilk, wine, and other things. Then he commanded that one of the compoſitions made in her praiſe, ſhould be read; after which uſing ſeverall other Reverences and Ceremonies, they all returned; and the King left particular order, that all thoſe Garments, Poems, and other things ſhould be burned.

On the eighth day, were made Sacrifices to Heaven, Earth, the Planets, Mountaines, and Rivers, with great Solemnitie; when theſe were ended, the King commanded, that the ſame Sacrifices ſhould be made to the nine Gates of the Palace, through which the Corps of the deceaſed Queen was to paſſe; and to the Tutelar Angels of them; as alſo the ſix Bridges of the River, which runneth through the Palace, offering in all theſe places living creatures, Aromaticks, wine made with ſeverall Spices and ingredients, and diverſe other perfumes.

The Cheſt or *Coffin*, in which the deceaſed Queen lay, was of the moſt precious and deareſt wood, that could be found in that Kingdome, and was ſhut and cloſed up with all poſſible art and diligence, and claſped on the outſide with haſps of Silver, made in the forme of Dragons: neither was there any Gold, or *Charan*, uſed for the Ornament thereof, that that precious wood might be left more bare and open to the ſight. It was placed in a Triumphant Chariot very richly wrought, with its Curtaines of ſilk embroidered with Gold. Moreover the Chariot was adorned all over with plates of Silver, caſt in the figures of Lions and Dragons, and other works; all performed with exquiſite art and diligence. About the Hearſe ſtood many Candles and perfuming pans.

The fifth day being come, which was appointed by the Kings *Mathematician* for the carrying of the Corps forth of the Palace, the King with his Women, Sonnes, and the Eunuches of the Palace, came to the place, where the Chariot, that carried the Hearſe, ſtood; where, after they had renewed their lamentations for their departed Queen, they Sacrificed to the Chariot it ſelfe, or to the God and Genius thereof; that the voyage might be proſperous; and that the Body might enjoy quiet and ſecuritie; then Sprinkling ſweet waters upon the Hearſe, they made their laſt Compliments and Reverences.

Preſently the *Eunuchs* (for no others enter there,) put themſelves in order to draw the Chariot, the King accompanying it with all his Familie to the laſt, that is, the eighth Gate of the Palace, where, with new laments, *Ceremonies* and complements, he took his leave.

Then within the firſt gate ſtood ready, they that were to receive the Corps, and in the Kings name and ſtead, were to accompany it, and to make the Sacrifices and *Ceremonies*, that were to be performed at certaine places. Then preſently began the Proceſſion, with ſuch ſolemnitie, order, and ſilence, that it cauſed admiration in all that beheld it. It went no further that day, than to a Town without the walls; neer to which there was a Tent ſet up very richly adorned, where the Chariot was put; and the Tables likewiſe being ſet, they did Sacrifice, and burned Incenſe and Perfumes, and performed other *Ceremonies* and Reverences; and laſt of all they renewed their Lamentations. From this place was diſpatched an *Eunuch* to give the King full account, whither,

and

and how the Body was arrived, and of all that passed there.

The day following was begun with the *Ceremonies* and other *Funerall solemnities*, with which the day before was concluded; and their journey continued with such a Multitude of people, as well of those of the Guard neere hand, as of other people afar off, that were curious to see, that they were not to be numbred. By reason of the Sacrifices, *Ceremonies*, and stops which they made in the way, they were three daies ere they arrived at the Mountaine, where the Kings *Sepulchres* were.

Assoon as they were come thither, the Hearse was removed with many *Ceremonies* from the Chariot, where it was, to another triumphant Chariot, which they had in readinesse for that purpose, of no lesse cost than the former. After that, they Sacrificed to the earth, a Bull, with Spiced wines, rich perfumes, and garments, Suplicating to the tutelary Spirit thereof, that he would receive that Body with pitie, keep, & defend it, *&c.*

At the same time, nine *Mandarines*, appointed by the King himself, performed the same *Ceremonies* and Sacrifices to all the Kings predecessours, which were buried there: when the day was come, on which the Body should be buried, which was the fifteenth of the sixt Moone, they made many Sacrifices, and so put an end to the *Funerall*: when presently the *Mandarines* posted away, to give the King account of all that had passed; which account was alwayes given him in part from time to time by the way. And he shewed his liberalitie to all those that had taken paines in that worke: and to shew his care and piety, in all that which he ought, to his Mothers memorie, presently after her death, he commanded that all prisoners should be released, that were not committed for any enormous crimes. He gave order also, that in the Provinces, where there was a Scarcitie of victualls, the ordinary Tribute should be taken off; and that alms should be given to those that were most necessitous among them.

He ordered also, that the *Rights* and *Gabels*, to be paied at the Gates and Custome-houses, which upon some occasions were lately imposed, should cease: and he himself, with his own hands, made many thousand small pieces of Silver which he lapped up in paper, according to the custome of *China*, to give them in Almes for the Soule of his dead Mother.

Truly there is nothing in *China*, so worthy to be imitated by Christians, as their piety towards their Parents, and God having given to this Nation such knowledge and inclination to vertue, it is great pittie, that they should only want the foundation of faith. Hence we may see, with how great fruit and profit the *Gospel* might be preached in this Kingdome, or rather by the goodnesse of the Lord, it is already preached, as we shall declare in its proper place.

It will not be besides the purpose of this discourse, to adde briefly something, concerning the death of King *Vanli*, Sonne to this Queen aboveSaid, the which fell out towards the end of *August* in the year 1620. in their seaventh moone; forbearing to mention the *Ceremonies*, which were like to those, we even now related.

He fell sick about the end of *June* (in the same year,) of a looseness and paine in his stomack, swelling of his feet, and other Maladies; This

infirmity laſted two months with many various changes & alterations: after which, finding himſelfe come to the end of his life, he called his Sonne, the heire of the Kingdome, with his three other brothers; to whom he made a diſcourſe full of good adviſe and wholeſome precepts, accuſing himſelfe of too much negligence, and want of care, and then gave them the laſt ſalute.

Then he made his laſt Will and Teſtament, the manner whereof is this. When the Phyſitians do deſpaire of the Kings recovery, the *Colai*, if they be many, as they uſe to be, together with the chiefe of the Eunuchs, and the firſt Preſident of the Palace, whom they call *Suli Kien*, go to the King, and endeavour to draw from his owne mouth, what his laſt Will is, and the ſumme of his Teſtament. After that, they go ſecretly to the Prince, the heire of the Kingdome, and give him an account of all, to the end nothing might be done contrary to the will of him, who is preſently to take poſſeſſion of the Kingdome.

When they have underſtood, what both their pleaſures are, they put it into the form of a Will, and carry it to the King, to have his approbation of it. Then they preſent it to a Senatour of the royall Colledge, called *Hanli Yven*, to whom it belongeth to put ſuch writings, as concerne the King, into good form and ſtile.

That done, it is cloſed up and ſealed with the Kings ſeale, and is kept in the Archives of the royall Colledge, whileſt the King is living. Aſſoone as he is dead, it is carryed to the Tribunal of *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, to whom it belongeth to publiſh it through the whole Kingdome, and to put it punctually in execution.

The form of this Will is here faithfully copied and tranſlated out of the *Chineſſes* language into ours.

The laſt Will and Teſtament of our Emperour *Vanli*, who in obedience to Heaven, hath reſigned his Empire into the hands of *Poſteritie*.

I *From a child received the government of this* Monarchie *from the hands of my* Progenitours, *and have held it fourty eight years, a very long time: wherefore I have no reaſon to lament, that I am now to leave it. Aſſoone as I was created* Emperour, *I had ſtrong inclinations to governe well, and to imitate my* Predeceſſours; *as in truth I endeavoured to do, with all exactneſſe. But afterward, being hindred by ſeverall infirmities for many years, I left off the care of having the wonted ſacrifices celebrated to Heaven and earth: neither did I cauſe the offices and ceremonies to be performed, which are due to the memory of my* Anceſtours. *I ſeldome times ſate upon the throne to conſult of the affaires of the Kingdome; I detained the petitions which were preſented me, without diſpatching them. I tooke no care of nominating* Magiſtrates, *as the Kingdomes need required; and I know, that at this preſent there are ſome wanting. I have opened nine mines of gold, and ſilver: I have encreaſed and multiplied the* Gabells *and* Exciſe: *I have diſturbed the publick peace with tumults of warre; whence hath followed diſcord with the neighbouring princes, and great oppreſſion and injury to their people: wherefore thinking continually both night and day upon theſe things, I am hardly able to ſuffer the grief, which my ſoule endureth, and which doth*

doth now deteſt her former faults: finally, I began to take up better reſolutions; but I am fallen into this infirmity, the which doth ſtill ſo encreaſe, that it maketh me beleeve, I ſhall very ſhortly loſe my life.

In the mean time I have this only hope left me, that my Sonnes and Nephews will amend my faults by leading a better life.

You therefore the Heire *of my Kingdome, ſeeing that you neither want ingenuity, nor good diſpoſition; and becauſe you have hitherto never forborne the exerciſe of piety, obedience, and other vertues; be of good courage. The inheritance of the Empire of* China *is yours. Let your principall care be well to compoſe your life and manners. Apply your ſelfe with all ſtudy and induſtry to the well governing of the Kingdome. Love thoſe that are good; refuſe not counſell; take not adviſe in evill part: that you might be able to beare the great weight of this Empire: do your endeavour that your Sonne my Grand-child, follow his ſtudies with all diligence. Be kind and loving to your* three Brothers: *aſsigne them convenient habitations; and provide for each of them a good revenue and honourable* Titles. *Uſe your utmoſt diligence, that all your ſubjects, as well noble as ignoble, may live in peace, and love concord. Take care ſpeedily to make the* Colai, *and other the ſupreame Magiſtrates, for I do remember, to have left two places voyd: and above all, forget not to elect the Kings* Adminiſtratours. *Theſe things I recommend to you that you ſhould endeavour ſpeedily to put them in execution.*

By all means take off the new Gabells *at Bridges, the* Exciſe *of ſilke, ſtuffs, eartherne ware, and other things, which I have lately introduced. Take care that all cauſes, which are depending in the* Tribunals, *be diſpatched with diligence by ſome ſelect* Judges; *and free the innocent. The ſouldiers on the confines of* Tartary *do want their pay and proviſions: let them be ſpeedily ſupplied out of the* royall exchequer (*this laſt clauſe is ſaid to have been added by the Prince to his fathers Teſtament,*) *I do recommend to you the ſouldiers and Captaines, which were ſlaine in the laſt warre. Honour their* Mortuaries, *and their ſoules with new* Titles; *aſsiſt their families by paying their arreares.*

All this I briefly ordaine, that you ſhould put it in execution, aſſoone as poſſibly you may.

As for my Funerall, *cauſe the* ceremonies *of the Kingdome to be obſerved. Though I had rather for my particular ſatisfaction, that inſtead of* twenty ſeaven months, *as is the uſuall cuſtome, they ſhould only laſt for ſo many* dayes. *All the* Magiſtrates, Vice-roys, Viſitours *and* Captaines *of warre, have more need to aſsiſt at their governments and charges: Suffer not, that they be called hither, upon the occaſion of my funerall. It will be ſufficient, that when each hath newes of my death, he cauſe to be done, for three dayes in the place where he is, that which uſeth to be performed at the* Funerall *of the Kings body. The* Paſtilios, *and other perfumes, wont to be preſented on the like occaſions, may be brought by the inferiour officers, in the name of the great ones. But for the* Magiſtrates *appointed for the government of the forts, and the* Preſidents *of Cities and Townes, my Will is, that in no caſe they ſhould be ſuffered to come, as alſo that the ſtrangers, who are* Tributary *to this Kingdome, ſhould be excuſed. I do ordaine that this my laſt Will ſhould be publiſhed through the whole Kingdome, that it may come to the eares of every one of my ſubjects.*

This was his will and Teſtament; which accordingly was every where publiſhed.

publiſhed. The other ceremonies I forbeare to write, becauſe they are the ſame with thoſe, we have already related.

CHAP. 18.

Of the ſeverall Sects of religion in China.

THe *Chineſſes* are generally little inclined to *Sects*; neither are there any thing neere ſo many among them, as among the people of *Giappon*. Nevertheleſſe they have three, which, although they be different, yet, that they might not erre in any, or to ſpeake more correctly, that they might erre the more, they joyne them altogether. Two of them are proper to *China*, and firſt ſprung up there: The third, which is of the Idols, is adventitious, and came from *India*.

The firſt is that of the *Litterati*; and is more ancient among them, than ſome do think, who make *Confuſio* to be the author of it. They worſhip no *Pagod*, or Idol, but acknowledge a *Superioritie*, or *Deitie*, who is able to chaſtiſe and to reward. Notwithſtanding they have no Churches, wherein they worſhip *him*; nor any divine Offices which they celebrate, nor any prayers that they rehearſe; nor any *Prieſts* or *Miniſters*, which officiate at *his* ſervice. Yet they ſpeak and write in their books of this *Lord* very *Honourably*, as of a *divine perſon*; neither do they apply or attribute any undecent thing *to him*, as our Anceſtours did to their Gods. But as they did not perfectly and diſtinctly know the true God, they fell to worſhip three things, which are the moſt renowned, powerfull and profitable in the world, the which they call *San*, *Cai*, that is, heaven, earth, and man. There are, in the courts of *Nankim* and *Pekim* only, very ſumptuous Temples for heaven and earth; but which do properly belong to the King alone; wherein he only in his owne perſon doth ſacrifice; he being the Miniſter alſo of the ſacrifice, and in his abſence, or by his order, the chiefe Magiſtrate of the Tribunal of Rites.

In the Cities, there are Temples for the Tutelar ſpirits, to which the *Mandarines* do ſacrifice, as alſo to the ſpirits of the rivers, mountaines, and of the foure parts of the world, *&c.*

There are alſo Temples to the honour of ſome men, who have been famous Benefactours to the publick; and therein, are placed their Images. They do the ſame honour to their Anceſtours, untill the fourth degree upwards.

For their ſoule in the next life, they neither expect, nor pray for any thing: Nevertheleſſe, they ask for temporall aſſiſtance in this life, good fortune, and to be able to imitate their good works and atchivements.

They pretend by this to ſtirre up devotion in the people, that they ſeeing how heaven and earth are honoured, as univerſall *Parents*, they might alſo honour their particular *Parents*: and ſeeing how famous men of former

former ages are honoured, they might thereby endeavour to imitate them; and seeing how their deceased *Progenitours* are served, they might learne how to serve them, while living. In a word, they order every thing, as it may conduce most to good government, to concord, peace, and quietnesse in Familes, and to the exercise of vertue.

The *Second Sect* is that of the *Tausi*, proper also to *China*. The Authour thereof was a Philosopher named *Tausu*, of whom they feign, that he was eight years in his Mothers belly. He lived about the time of *Confusio*. He hath many followers to this day, who live together in communitie: they do not marry: they suffer the haire of their head and their beard to grow very long: in their habit they do not differ from others, except in some things at the time when they officiate. In stead of a Cap, they weare a little Crown, into which the knot only of their haire entreth. They place their ultimate Happinesse in the Body, in order to obtaine a quiet and easie life; without labour and trouble.

This *Sect* acknowledgeth one *Great God*, and other lesser one, all corporeall. They acknowledge *Glorie* and *Hell*: the *Glorie* to be conjoyned to the body, not only in the other life, but also in this; feighning, that by meanes of certaine exercises and meditations, one may come to make himselfe a child, and young, and others to become *Xin Sien*, that is, the fortunate ones of the earth; obtaining by this meanes whatsoever they desire, and to be able to transferre themselves from one place to another, although never so distant, speedily and easily; and other such like fooleries.

They are skilfull in Musick, and have good Instruments. They are alwaies called to the Sacrifices and Funeralls, and at those of the King and *Mandarines*, they are ever assistant. They Pretend to be *South-Sayers*, and promise to procure raine, and to drive away devils from places that are haunted: But are able to do nothing; and sometimes at such undertakings they are fouly routed by the devils: in great droughts they promise raine, and often prolong so much time in praying for it, that at length the time of raine commeth.

In *Pekim*, in the yeare 1622, there fell out a pleasant Accident, although troublesome. There happened a great drought, prayers were made, pennances and fasts were kept: but all to no end. At length certaine *Tausi* offered themselves to procure raine without faile, and appointed a set day and houre, the offer was accepted with great applause, joy, and good hope of the event: then they in a great *Piazza*, or market-place made a theater composed of little Tables, which, as they have many there of an equall height and breadth, they did set one upon another, beginning at bottom with a great many, and raising it up by degrees higher, still with fewer Tables, till at length, the Machine came to end in one only, observing an handsome proportion and reasonable height. On this last and highest stood the chiefe of them, praying and supplicating; and the rest went round about him, doing the same, like *Baals Priests*, (although they did not wound themselves; for in that they had great regard, as those who sought not bloud, but water.)

The people stood all round about, expecting the event: and the Ministers

ſters obſerving ſo great an Auditory, which was almoſt infinite, redoubled their prayers, their whiſtlings, and ceremonies. When the day and houre appointed was come, preſently the Sky began to be overcaſt with very dark cloudes, to the great joy of all, and credit of their Miniſters, who did already promiſe themſelves the happy accompliſhment of their undertaking; expecting every moment, when the raine ſhould fall. When behold, of a ſudden there fel a furious ſtorm of Haile, the Stones whereof were as big as Eggs, and ſome bigger, which did ruine, not only their fields, but their Gardens, and killed diverſe Perſons, that could not in time recover ſome Shelter.

The Fathers have writ me from thence, that they thought the end of the world was come, ſo great was the confuſion and noiſe of the Haile that fell. The Prophets, for having procured ſtones in ſtead of water, were all rewarded with ſtore of Baſtinadoes.

The third *Sect* is of the *Pagods*, from *India*, from the parts of *Indoſtan*; which Sect they call *Xaca*, from the Authour of it: concerning whom, they fable; that he was conceived by his Mother *Maia*, only upon the ſight of a white Elephant, which ſhe ſaw in her ſleep; and for the more puritie ſhe brought him forth at one of her flancks, and then preſently died, being but nineteen yeares of age. And that, conſidering the death of his Mother, the cauſe whereof he was by his Birth, he reſolved to leave the world, and to do pennance; the which he did in a Mountain called the Snowy Mountaine, where he had fower Maſters, with whom he ſtudied twelve yeares; ſo that by that time he was thirty yeares of age, he was accompliſhed in the Science of the firſt principle. He took the name of *Xekia*, or *Xaca*: he taught his doctrine for the ſpace of 49 yeares; he had many Scholars, who, after his death collected his papers, and ſpread his doctrine through the greater part of Aſia.

This *Sect* entred into *China* in the year of our Redemption 63. The Emperour *Hanmim* being commanded in a dreame, (as their books report) to ſend for it in. The *Bonzi*, who were the preachers of that *Sect*, were well received of him, and at the beginning, were very powerfull, much eſteemed, and in ſo great number, that they ſay, they were three *millions*. But at this day they are very few in reſpect of that number: whether it were that they truſting in their multitude, or in the Kings favour, committed ſome notable diſorder; or (what is more likely) by reaſon of the misfortune that befell many Kings, ſince their coming in: and by this meanes they are ſo declined, that unleſſe it be in the offices and Acts of their divine worſhip, there is but little account made of them among the *Chineſſes*.

Their *Prieſts* weare their head and beards ſhaved: their Cap is different, but the reſt of their Habit is the ſame with that of others. They worſhip idols: They hold a Reward and Puniſhment in the next Life: They marry not: They live in Convents, foure or five hundred together, or more: They have a moderate Maintenance allowed them by the King, notwithſtanding, every one is allowed to get what he can: They begge, mutter Prayers: They ſing: They have ſeverall offices, and prayers againſt fire, tempeſts, misfortunes, and eſpecially for the dead: in which

Functions

Functions they uſe ſacerdotall,or prieſtly garments: Their Caps are like ours,and their ſprinkling bruſhes without any difference at all: They eat neyther fleſh, fiſh, nor egges, neyther doe they drink wine.

They live incloſed; but within a very great circuite of wall, with long ſtreets in it in manner of a Towne; where,in every houſe there dwelleth three or foure, that is, one Maſter and the reſt Scholars: In it they have all manner of convenience. That which the King giveth them, is divided equally to every houſe. They have alſo a *ſuperiour*, who is over them all, and governeth them, but at large, for he only taketh notice of ſuch caſes, as are propoſed to him for the reſt, every one governeth his owne houſe. He diſtributeth the offices among them, and appointeth ſuch as are to receive ſtrangers. When any officer arriveth at their Convent,or Temple,preſently a drumme is beaten, which they keep at the gate; and then there are about thirty obliged to come and meet him, when they have put on their garment of *Courteſie*. When the *Magiſtrate* is come to the gate,they make him a low reverence, and preſently turning about they go before him, waiting on him to the place, whether he goeth;and there they attend him, ſtanding on their feet in the ſame manner, till he go away. They are properly ſubject to the councell of rites, who governeth them; but in chaſtiſing of them, when there is occaſion,they are more favourable to them, than to ſecular perſons.

There are others of them, that live in caves, rocks, and grotts, and ſome that make their particular penances in private; others that make little narrow lodges, knocked full of nailes with their points turned inwards, where they ſtand in ſight of all the world, for the ſpace of a month without leaning: Some of them profeſſe to eat nothing,whileſt they are there, but only to drink *Cha*. But thoſe that are expert, ſay; that they make up great balls of beefe, which hath been firſt well boyled, dried in the ſunne, and then ground to powder; and that when they give them their *Cha* to drink very hot, they caſt one of their balls into it, which preſently diſſolveth: which although it be no very nouriſhing diet, yet it is ſufficient to ſuſtaine them, and to colour their deceit of living without eating.

There be ſome who belong to no Convent,or Temple,neither are they Sonnes of any Monaſtrie; neither are they admitted into them, as Gueſts, but for one day only: They call them vagabonds; and among theſe, there are many times found ſome, who are very wicked men, and do much miſchiefe, eſpecially by robberies.

Notwithſtanding the greater part of theſe abovenamed *Sectaries*,is not ſcandalous; but very patient, meek and humble; whether it be from the habit, which humbleth them; or from the little eſteeme that is made of them, which keepeth them under.

There go abroad no ill reports of them, although they be frequently ſpoken off: And to mention thoſe which appeare in publick, in two and twenty years, that I was there, I heard only two ſtories of them; and of one of them,the cauſe was not certainly known. In the City of *Hancheu*, there was found one morning one of them bound to a Tree, and ſtabbed to death with daggers: concerning which there was an ill judgment raiſed. In the village of *Xhanhay* in the Province of *Nankim*, during the

time that I lived there, a *Bonzo* was deſired by a widow woman, to come to her houſe and to recite ſome prayers for the ſoule of her deceaſed huſband: But it ſeemeth he choſe rather to make a commeration of the living, than the dead: The fact was known; and for a month together he was expoſed to publick ſhame (for they do chaſtiſe them very well) with a great ſquare board about his neck, whereon was written in great letters the occaſion of his penance. It is very much in 22 years to have heard no more againſt them. Not but that I could ſay ſomething upon this occaſion: but it is better to be ſilent, than to ſpeak of it.

There are alſo Nunnes in *China*, who live after the ſame manner: They ſhave their heads; but they are not many; neither do they obſerve *Clauſure*.

The end of all theſe *Sects* of the *Bonzi* is to do penance in this life, to be better provided in the next. They believe the Tranſmigration of *Pythagoras*, and that the ſoules departed go to hell; which, they hold, doth containe nine ſeverall places; and after they have paſſed through them all, thoſe of the beſt ſort, are borne men againe, others of a middle ſort, are turned into living creatures, like unto men. But they are in the worſt condition, that go into birds, who may not ſo much as hope in the next Tranſmigration to become men; but at ſooneſt in another after, having firſt gone into ſome other living creature. This is the generall beliefe, not only of the common people (in whom, theſe errours are radicated beyond imagination) but alſo in people of better account.

But their *wiſeſt* men, or to ſpeak more truly, they that are moſt given to *Atheiſme*, forſaking this way, which they call the *Exteriour*, do follow another, more *interiour* or ſecret; the knowledge whereof they preſerve, with great care among themſelves; placing their whole intent on the underſtanding of the *firſt principle*, (which is properly the doctrine of *Xaca*) whom they believe to be the ſame, in all things; and all things to be the ſame with him; without any eſſentiall difference; operating according to the *extrinſick Qualities* of the ſubject; as wax is formed into ſeverall figures, the which being diſſolved by liquefaction, remaine in ſubſtance the ſelfe ſame waxe.

After this their way; they divide mankinde into ten *Claſſes*. The foure firſt whereof are good; that is, *Principiantes*, or *Beginners*; *Proficientes*, or *Proficients*; *Provecti*, or thoſe that have *Advanced*; *Conſummati*, or they that are *accompliſht*. The three firſt do walke well, although they are but yet in the way; but the fourth is arrived at perfection, by means of contemplating the *firſt principle*; and by mortification of their paſſions; which did diſquiet them with perturbations and ſcruples; and do already enjoy ſuch an internall quiet and Peace of minde, that nothing doth give them any remorſe or trouble, for what-ever they thinke, ſay, or do; aſſuring their conſciences, that after death they are to expect neither reward nor puniſhment; but that every thing ſhall returne to its *principle*, as it was at firſt.

For the other ſix *Claſſes* of men, they make ſix Hels. The firſt and gentleſt is of Infants, who have not yet had any experience of their paſſions, nor been troubled by them; eſpecially by covetouſneſſe, anger, *&c.* The

ſecond

ſecond is of them, who being placed in the government of the world, give themſelves wholly to the vanity thereof: The third is of them, who like bruite beaſts, follow their paſſions and diſordinate appetites. The fourth is of them, that rob, wound, aſſault, and ſlay. The fifth of them, who ſuffer hunger, thirſt, miſerie, labours, troubles externally in the body, and internally in the ſoule. The ſixt is of them, that take upon them voluntary labours and ſufferings, as the *Bonzi*, who do penance, faſt, *&c.* This externall life ſerving them only as a diſpoſition to the internall; the which being obtained, the other ſerveth them for nought, no more than the woodden engine, (which workmen uſe to ſhape a vault withall) after the vault is finiſhed.

Now theſe men do eſteeme Hell to be no more than thus: And when they ſpeak of *Tranſmigration* into beaſts, they ſay, It is to be underſtood of this life: As if a man be civill, courteous, and well bred; they ſay he is turned into a man; if cholerick and furious, into a Lyon: If cruell, into a Tyger; if gluttonous, into a ſwine: If a thiefe, into a Bird of prey. Hence was the originall of that handſome ſaying among them, *Ti Yo Thien Than Ti Yeu Sin Vai.* (That is,) Heaven and Hell are ſeated in the heart.

Theſe are the Three principall *Sects* of *China*, from whence have ſprung many others that are there to be found.

They hold, that they may be made all to agree without any prejudice to their obſervance. They have a text, which ſaith, *San Chiao Ye Tao*; that is, The doctrines are three, but the reaſon of them is but one. For although the worſhip, adoration, and exerciſe be different, notwithſtanding the end at which they all arrive, is the ſame, *Cum Hiu*, (that is) nothing.

The *Litterati* of the firſt *Sect*, imitating Heaven and Earth, apply all to the government of the Kingdome; of their families; and of their perſons, only in this life; and after that pretend to nothing. The *Tauſi* of the ſecond *Sect*, without any regard to their families or the government, treate only of the body. The diſciples of *Xaca* of the third *Sect*, without any regard to the body, treate only of the ſpirit, internall peace, and quiet of conſcience: Hence aroſe that ſentence which they uſe, *Fu Chi Que*, *Tau Chi Xin*, *Xe Chi Sin*, that is, the *Litterati* govern the Kingdom, the *Tauſi* the body, and the *Bonzi* the heart.

Beſides theſe three which are all admitted, and publikely profeſſed in the Kingdom; there is another which is not publike, nor permitted; but is under a prohibition, notwithſtanding it hath many followers: it is called *Pe Lien Kieo*, and is exceedingly hated of the *Chineſſes*, eſpecially of the governours; becauſe the diſciples thereof do conceale themſelves, doing every thing by night with much ſecrecy. It is commonly beleeved, that their intent is, to exalt ſome of themſelves to the Crowne; and it is verily thought, that ſome perverſe men of this profeſſion, have already deſigned it.

A *Chineſſe* of good credit did affirme to me, that there were throughout *China* many thouſands of them; and that they had a Captaine or King, with all his officers belonging to him: whom, ſuch of their *Sect*, as live far off, do reverence in their letters, with all reſpect due to ſuch a Perſon;

and thoſe that are at hand, when they have a convenience to aſſemble themſelves, do honour him with ſervices, courteſies and ſplendour, ſuitable to that of royall Majeſtie: and that all of them knew one another.

In the yeare 1622. in the Province of *Xantum*, which lieth between that of *Nankim* and *Pekim*, there was diſcovered and taken one of theſe that was their Captaines. And becauſe the *Mandarines* were reſolved, not only to puniſh him, but all thoſe that followed his *Sect* likewiſe; they queſtioned him concerning his companions; and not being able to draw a confeſſion from him, they gave him ſeverall times the rack. Which being underſtood by thoſe, of the ſame *Sect*, whether it were for love they bare him, or for fear, that he might be conſtrained to confeſſe and diſcover them, they all reſolved to arme themſelves, and fall upon the *Mandarines*, and by force of armes to deliver their companion: which accordingly they put in execution, with ſo much ſuddenneſſe, that it was impoſſible for the others to reſiſt or eſcape them. They ſlew many of the *Mandarines*, and the reſt were ſo affrighted, that they delivered their companion,

Then having formed themſelves into a Body, they began to conquer the *Province*. At the beginning their number was not conſiderable, but in a ſhort time there were ſo many, who joyned themſelves to them, part of their own faction, and part of other vagabonds, that already they came to be many thouſands; and ſo going on, without finding any reſiſtance, they made themſelves Maſters of the ſmall villages, and at length tooke two walled Towns, where they fortified themſelves, iſſuing out from thence, to aſſault their enemies.

This newes gave no little trouble to the Court, the rebels being very neer them. But at length by the diligence they uſed, all was remedied; by reaſon, that numerous forces were ſent out againſt them from *Pekim*: and although at the beginning, there fell out many battailes with various ſucceſſe, both on the one and other ſide, yet at the length they of *Pekim* were Conquerours, and the rebels army defeated, and their Captaine taken, who called himſelfe King; and kept this Title with ſo much obſtinacie, that being lodged at the houſe of a Perſon of quality, before he came to the Court, he did him no Reverence at all; and being bid to bow and do him Reverence, he anſwered with much diſdaine, the King doth Reverence to no man. Being come to Court, he was condemned to die, and was accordingly beheaded; and this was the Crown which he deſerved. After that, the King quieted the reſt by pardoning the greateſt part of the rebels.

CHAP.

CHAP. 19.

Of their Superstitions and Sacrifices in China.

Superstition is an Individuall companion of *Paganisme*; but in *China*, *Giappon*, and *Corea*, and the neighbouring Kingdomes, it is in great excesse. The Kings *Mathematician* giveth no small occasion to these superstitions; for from the impressions of the aire, the colours of the Skie, tempests, unseasonable thunders, aspects of the Sunne, whereof they have two and twenty differences, and severall appearances of the Moon, whereof they have sixteen, he alwayes maketh his *Prognostications*, especially whether there wil be peace in the Kingdome, or dearth, mortalitie, mutations, perturbations, and the like.

To this end he maketh an *Almanack* for the whole yeare, which he divideth into its Moones; and the Moones into daies, which according to his calculation, he declareth fortunate or unfortunate, to do or leave undone any thing; as to take a voyage; to go out of doores; to make marriage; to bury the dead; to build, and other such like affaires: whence the *Chinesses* in all their businesse, do so observe these *Rubriques*, that meerly, not to go against these rules, they hasten, defer, or let alone whatsoever they have to do. So that if the *Almanack* say, on such a day, such a busines is to be done, although all the Elements conspire against them, they will by no meanes deferre it.

Besides this *Almanack*, whereof there are so many copies given out, that there is not an house, which hath not one of them, the market-places and streets are full of *Astrologers* and *Sooth-sayers*, who keep open Shop with their Tables for *Calculation*, in order only to tell such their fortunes, as come to them to require it: and although for the most part, they that come to them, are deceived and coozened, yet there are so many that flock to them, that although the number of these *Diviners*, is almost infinite, they live and sustaine their Families by this *Art*.

Some professe to *Divine* by way of numbers, even or odde; and with black and white figures; making 64 mutations, or changes of them; which they explaine and interprete as they please.

Others consider the time of the *Nativitie*, which the *Chinesses* are very diligent in keeping account of, that they may know the houre, the minute, and conjunction in which their children were born.

Others, whom they call *Tili*, pretend to *Divine* by meanes of the Scituation of the earth, and from the correspondence it hath with heaven, and with the parts thereof; pronouncing what places are *prosperous*, and what *unfortunate*; and where, if they build their houses, all will succeed prosperously, and with good fortune to the Family; or contrariwise, with sickneſſe, misfortunes, disgraces and other evils: and in this facultie they have many skilfull professours, on whom they spend a great deale of

of mony without any profit at all.

Others *Divine* by the *Phyſiognomie* of the face; others by conſidering the lines and ſtrokes of the hand; others interpret dreames.

Whileſt I dwelt in *Nankim*, there was a man, who went to conſult one of theſe about a dreame he had, which was concerning an *Umbrella*, or skreen to keep off the Sunne: the profeſſour asked him, if there were any plea or enditement againſt him, in any Court of Juſtice: he anſwered, There was: Well ſaid the profeſſour, then *San* ſignifieth an *Umbrella*, and *San* alſo ſignifieth to vaniſh; and the interpretation of your dreame is, that all that is againſt you will vaniſh and come to nothing. The poore man was very well pleaſed, but being afterwards araigned, he received *thirty Baſtinad'os* well ſet on. The wretch being angrie at his puniſhment, whereof he thought himſelfe ſecure, went to quarrel with the profeſſour, who anſwered him, Alas, I had forgot to aske thee, Whether the *Umbrella*, which thou ſaweſt, were a new one, or an old one: it was a new one, anſwered the foole. Then ſaid the profeſſour, Make account, that thy ſorrowes do but now begin.

Others *divine* only by the Touch, and theſe are blind men. In the yeare 1630. there came to the *Metropolis* of *Kiamſi*, a blind man, well in years: he opened ſhop, and was frequented by many of the *Nobility*: he foretold many things, with much confidence; and a certain Gentleman of the ſame City, that was of one of the foure principall families of that place, came to me to tell me what had paſſed; he knew me, and underſtood well enough, what my opinion was in that matter. He told me many particular caſes of things already happened; by which he was confirmed of the event, of what the other ſaid, ſhould yet come to paſſe; and prayed me, that I would go in perſon, and make triall of him. I went only to undeceive him: and coming to him, he touched my hand, and bid me ſpeak: when I had ſpoke, he began to tell, that I was married, and that I had two ſonnes, that one of them was towardly, the other wilde and diſobedient; that my wife was froward and diſcontented; in fine, that my whole family was in diſorder: but that when I had taken my degree, all would be well. He is already a *Graduate*, anſwered my friend. Where, replied the blind man? In another Province, anſwered the other. At which the blind man withdrew, ſeeing, although without eyes, that he had erred in that particular of my degree.

Beſides theſe, whom they conſult, they have in their Temples, ſeverall kindes of lots; and a booke that explaineth them: They do very frequently draw theſe lots, and they as frequently deceive them.

They obſerve likewiſe, and make *Auguryes* from the *ſinging* of *Birds*, & from the *Howling* of *Beaſts*: & if at their going out in the morning, they preſently meet with a man cloathed in *Mourning*, a *Bonzi*, or ſuch like thing, they take it for an ill *Augurie*: They ſay alſo, that they have familiar ſpirits, which they frequently conſult: But of this I have not had any knowledge.

Anciently, in time of the *Tartars*, there were many very skilfull in this Art; and if we may beleeve, what *Marcus Venetus* relateth, they did many wonders. But at this day there is nothing certainly known of this matter. Yet there is ſtill a family, that have a particular penſion from the King,

King, which is continued, by succession to their posteritie; and the name of, *Magitian* or *Wizard Major*, and is the chiefe of that Sect, and is sometimes sent for to the King. I for my part believe, the devill hath more power over them, than they have over the devill.

As for sacrifices they are very frequent in *China*, as well great as small ones: and every one provideth for them what he will, or rather what he can; according to his estate and abilitie. They sacrifice foure times a year, to *Heaven*, the *Sunne*, *Moone*, and greater part of the *Planets* and *Starres*; to the *Earth*, *Mountaines*, and the *foure parts* of the *World*; to the *Sea*, *Rivers*, *Lakes*, and other things. But it seemeth that in realitie they sacrifice to the *Spirits* of those things, when in common speech, they say they sacrifice to the *Earth*, *Mountaines*, &c. Which may be seen in many sacrifices they make; as in the sacrifice of the house, kitchin, ships, standards and ensignes, when they go to war, and such like things; in which sacrifices they speak only to the *Tutelar Spirits* of those things.

They sacrifice much more to the Idols, and to famous men deceased; to whom, when they know them to be such, they cause Temples to be built, and place in them their Images, for services they have done, or other benefits the Kingdome hath received by them.

It seemeth, that at the beginning it was, and still is meant, only for a kinde of gratefull commemoration of them; and that properly they do not sacrifice to them, but only bring offerings to them, and perform other *Ceremonies*. But the ignorant people in time, are come to worship them as Saints, and make praiers to them, and other such like honours.

They make likewise these kinde of offerings to their *Ancestours*; whose pictures and Images, (or at least their names written) they have alwaies present at these offerings and *Ceremonies*. They only make mention of *six*, that is, the *first founder* of their familie; *their third* and *fourth Grand-father*, their *great Grand-father*, *Grand-father* and *Father*: And when he that is the chiefe of the familie dyeth, they take him in, and leave out the fourth Grand-father: So that there alwaies remaine *six* and no more. These offerings and *ceremonies* are not properly sacrifices made to their *Fathers*, for they do not believe that their *Fathers* and *Ancestours* are all, either Gods or Saints; but only it is a demonstration of *Gratitude* and *Reverence* which they thinke is due to them, from whom they have received their being.

That which they sacrifice is, some kindes of *Beasts*, as *Goats*, *Hogges*, and *Oxen*: These are the most usuall. Of *Foules* the most ordinary are *Cocks* and *Hens*. Of *Fishes* what they please. They also sacrifice pieces of flesh, and most commonly the *Head*: They sacrifice also *Rice*, *Pulse*, and *Wine*. And if the King sacrifice any of these things, the *Mandarines* take themselves large shares of them; and if the better sort of people sacrifice, such as are the heads of families, it is divided among the kindred. The ordinary sort of people, after they have made their offering, which is comonly boyled before hand, take up every thing againe, then having dressed it anew according to their *fancy*, they make a feast with it, where it is all eaten.

They sacrifice many other things; as *Banners* and *Umbrellas*, all of silk;

severall

ſeverall *figures* moulded in gold or ſilver, or elſe made of *Orpine*, or baſe gold; great ſummes of mony made of cut paper. All theſe things are to be ſold, ready made, in the market-places, at the ſhops of ſeverall Artificers; and after they are ſacrificed, they burn them all.

Every man offereth ſacrifice without any difference, they having no determinate miniſters appointed for this act: neither indeed have they for other things; as for offices (or Divine ſervice) Burialls, to ſing and officiate at them with any exactneſſe.

It belongeth only to the king to ſacrifice to *Heaven*, the *Earth*, *Sunne*, *Moone*, *Planets* and *Starres*, and if any others ſhould do it in publick, he were guilty of a great crime. For this end they have two moſt famous *Temples* at the *two Courts*: where the King ſacrificeth at the *foure ſeaſons* of the year, *Spring*, *Summer*, *Autumne* and *Winter*, going thither himſelfe in perſon; and if he cannot go, he ſendeth ſome other to officiate in his ſtead.

The great *Lords* and thoſe who are *Titelados*, ſacrifice to the *Mountaines*, *Lakes*, &c. The Gentlemen and Officers to the four ſeaſons of the year, and particular parts of the earth, *Hills*, and the like.

For the reſt, as to their Idols, their houſhold-gods, *Genij*, or *Tutelar Angells*, any one ſacrificeth that will, there being ſet times and places appointed for it: except at ſometimes they do accomodate themſelves, both to the occaſions and places; as when any one is to take a voyage by water, he offereth ſacrifice on the day, whereon he departeth; and that either in the *Barke*, or on the *next ſhore*.

CHAP. 20.

Of the Militia and Armes of the Chineſes.

THe knowledge and skill of *Warre* and *Military* affairs is very ancient among the *Chineſſes*, as appeareth by their bookes and Hiſtories; and it is very certaine, that they have conquered many famous Kingdomes: it is alſo commonly beleeved, that they did formerly conquer *Ceilan*; and neere to that place, in the City of *Nagapatam* there is to be ſeen, at this day, an edifice, or building, which they call *The Pagod of the Chineſſes*: and it is a Tradition among the people of that Countrie, that it was built by them. Neither truly is it a worke unfit to be compared to any of that Kingdome. Nevertheleſſe their bookes make no mention at all of it; but that is not a ſufficient reaſon altogether to refute this Tradition; for no more have they any memory left in their bookes of the ancient Chriſtianitie, which notwithſtanding it is moſt certaine, was there; and was alſo very much dilated and ſpread abroad. However it is manifeſt, that they had 114. Kingdomes Tributary to them; but at this day they have only the neighbouring Countries, which are nothing neere ſo many; and even of theſe, ſome of them do deny them their tribute; and others have

have been abandoned by the *Chineſſes* themſelves, holding it better to retire themſelves to their own, in peace and quietneſſe, than to go on ſtil with warre and troubles, to conquer or maintaine other Kingdomes.

Beſide the *Conqueſts* and *warres* made with ſtranger Kingdomes, they have had warre alſo for many yeares in their own Countrie; ſo that beſide many particular books that treate thereof, they have one body of hiſtorie conſiſting of ten Tomes, which only treateth of the *warrs* of thoſe times, of their *Captaines*, their manner of *warfare*, *battailes*, *victories*, and other things: wherein are many notable things to be read, which do clearly demonſtrate, that they have formerly been a *valiant* and *warlike* nation, although there are but few ſuch at this time. The occaſions how they came thus to grow leſſe, were very great, as I ſhall ſhew hereafter.

At this day, that which they have of *warlike* in the Kingdome, is only the *multitude*, which is very great; for beſides the *Souldiery*, which they have in the frontiers of *Tartarie*, and in the *Armados* and fleets, which are at the mouths of the great rivers, which runne into the Sea, every Province, and in that every City and Village of the Kingdome, hath a proper *militia* of their own, which is paid by them, and commanded by their own Captaines: and in caſe that any Province hath need of men, they make uſe of the *Souldierie* of their owu Cities and Townes; which by order of the *vice-roy* is eaſily brought to one *Rendevous*. And if there be occaſion for them on the frontiers, or any other place of the Kingdome, preſently by order from the King, or his councell of *warre*, they rayſe the *Souldiers* of one or more Provinces, according to the Preſent neceſſitie, and the poſſibilitie of the Province; all of them not being able to maintaine the ſame number of Souldiers.

Theſe *Souldiers* are alwayes in readineſſe, and if one of them be wanting or die, there are preſently enow in the ſame Town, though it be never ſo little, who make ſuite for the employment; and ſo the place is preſently ſupplied.

In the City of *Nankim* they ſay, there are 40000 *Souldiers*, and in that of *Pekim* 80000. and throughout the whole Kingdome (as Father *Matthæus Riccius* affirmeth, who lived in *China* many yeares, and had very good Knowledge thereof) above a million: and Father *John Rodriguez*, who went very much up and down *China*, and had opportunitie to ſee the principall places thereof, and was very curious, ſaith; that he found by diligent ſearch in their books, that in the body of the Kingdome, with all the Cities and Villages thereof, there are 594000 *Souldiers*; and on the great wals, which confine on *Tartarie* 682888. and yet he did not put into this number the *Souldiers* of the *Armado* that guardeth the coaſt. Nor wil this number ſeem ſo exceſſive, if we conſider, that *China* alone, beſide that it is much more populous, is as big as *Spain*, *France*, *Italie*, *Germanie*, the *Low-Countries*, *great Brittain*, and all the *Iſlands* belonging to it.

In all this multitude; if we ſpeak of them, who guard the *Frontiers*, there is no doubt but there is found ſome valour and courage; and they have ſometimes gallantly repulſed the *Tartars*, and in the yeare 1596, when the *Giapponeſſes*, after they had paſſed through all the Kingdome of *Corea*, without finding any reſiſtance, would have entred *China*, which they

came on purpoſe to conquer, the *Chineſſes* repulſed them in ſuch manner, that after the loſſe of many men, they were faine to put up their pipes, and returne home without doing any thing: ſo likewiſe the *Souldiers* of the *Armado* have made ſome aſſaults, wherein they have been *victorious*. But if we ſpeake of them, who live in the Cities and Villages throughout the Kingdome, they are but of ſmall courage and valour: but you muſt not conceive, that they are only *Souldiers*, and have no other profeſſion, for they are Inhabitants and natives of the ſame places; and are *Taylors, Shoemakers* &c. They are alwaies ready to march at the Kings command, and leaving their houſes, go to the warre, whenſoever there is occaſion, They are moreover obliged, to appear at the muſters and traynings for three months in the *Spring*, and three in the *Autumne*; the which are held in the great Cities every day infallibly, where only a *Tertia* or third part of them do muſter; but in Villages they do all make their appearance every day.

The manner which they hold in this *Militia*, is thus. All the *Souldiery*, whether of Foot or Horſe, are drawn up into a Body, and if any be found miſſing, there is an other put in his place; and in that place and degree, into which they are once admitted, they *almoſt ever* remaine, or are but little advanced. I ſaid, *almoſt alway es*, becauſe on the Frontires, if any *Souldier* perform any notable exploit, they ſometimes make him a *Captain*, and he is advanced to his degrees without being examined: but this is a thing which falleth out very rarely.

For to make *Captaines*, *Lieutenants*, and *Corporals*, &c. there are examinations; and in them two degrees are conferred; which (to make them be the better underſtood) we will call *Licentiats in arms*, and *Doctours in arms*. The firſt examination is held in the chief Cities of the Provinces, whither all pretenders do reſort, (and in the ſame vniverſity or generall Palace, where the ſtudents are examined;) and there they are to be examined, giving them for a point, or *Theme*, certaine doubts in matters of war, to which they anſwer with their pen, making thereon diſcourſes and compoſitions. The ſpeculative triall being ended, they come to the practick.

They muſt ſhoote nine arrowes, ſtanding ſtill upon their feet, and other nine on horſe-back, againſt a great Target, whileſt the horſe is in his ſpeed; and of thoſe who behave themſelves beſt, both in the triall of ſhooting, and in that of compoſing, ſome are choſen, on whom the firſt degree is conferred; which hath alſo its enſignes and ornaments. The ſecond degree is conferred at Court in the ſame year; where all thoſe who have obtained the firſt degree, do aſſemble themſelves; and the examination is held in the ſame manner as before; only there are more doubts concerning matters of warre propoſed, than before. Their enſignes are the ſame with thoſe of the *Doctours in learning*; which is to be underſtood in the Cities, while the Kingdom is in peace; for in warre, or publique actions, where they aſſiſt as *Souldiers*, they have their particular enſignes and ornaments of *Captaines*. The graduates are employed the ſame yeare, in the office of Captaines; and ſo are advanced by degrees, til they come, it may be, to be *Captaines General*, although there be no war. They who remaine only with the firſt degree, are employed in the leſſer, and more ordinary

charges

charges of the warr; but they are alwayes to be in somthing of command.

As for their *Armes*, I say first; that the use of *Powder* is very ancient in *China*: and in fire-works, wherein they are excellently skilfull, they spend more powder in a year, than in their *Armies*, at this time, in five. Anciently it seemeth, they used it more in the warr. For even to this day, there are to be seen on the gates of the City of *Nankim*, on both sides of the town, great Brasse *Bombards*, or *Cannon*, which though they be but short yet are very well made; from whence it may be concluded, that they have formerly been in use. But now they know not how to make use of them, and keep them only for ostentation. Nevertheless they make some use of *Morter-pieces*, or *Spingards*; but they have but few, and those ill-made. They have also *Dagges* two palms long, of Musket-bore; they do stock three, and sometimes fower of these together, and shoot them off all at once. In their ships of warr, they carry Guns, but they are very small ones, neither do they know, how to levell them at a mark. But now, since the *Officers* of *China* have made many fire-armes in *Machao*, by meanes of the *Portugheses*; *Muskets* began to come into *China*: but the *Armes* which they commonly serve with, are, *Bowes* and *Arrowes*, *Lances*, *Scimitars*.

In the yeare 1621 the City of *Macao* sent, for a present, to the King three great pieces of *Cannon*, with their *Cannoniers* belonging to them, to acquaint him with the use of them; which accordingly they did in *Pekim*, to the great affrightment of many *Mandarines*: who would needs be present to see them discharged. At which time, there fell out an unhappie accident; which was, that one of the Guns violently recoyling killed one *Portughese*, and three or fower *Chinesses*, besides many more that were Scared. These *Guns* were highlie esteemed, and carried to the *Frontiers* against the *Tartars*; who not knowing of this new invention, and coming on, many together in a close Body, received such a slaughter from an Iron piece, that they were not only put to flight at that time, but went on ever after with more caution.

For defensive *Armes*, they use round *Bucklers*, *Caskes* or *Head-pieces*, and certaine plates of Iron three fingers broad, laid one upon another, of which they make Back and Brest-pieces; they are but of little proof, and are made only against arrowes.

In a word both their *Armes* and *Souldiers* are but little worth at this time. The occasions thereof are many; the *First* is the great ease and idlenesse, in which they have lived these many yeares, since the Kingdome hath been free from warr. The *Second* is, the great account they make of learning, and the little esteem they have of *Armes*; so that the least magistrate will dare to baffle a *Captaine* of *Armes*, let him be never so great. The *Third* is their manner of electing *Captaines* by way of examination, as we have said, being all raw *Souldiers*, that understand nothing in matters of *warr*. The *Fourth* is, because all *Souldiers*, are either couragious by nature, or Spurred on to *Gallantrie* by the example of those *Noble* Persons, who lead them; or else they are animated by the discipline, their Captaines do bring them up in. But the *Souldiers* of *China* want all these occasions. For commonly their courage is but little; their *Nobilitie* lesse; their *Education* least of all; for they will *bastinado* a *Souldier* for any fault, as if he were a

child that went to schoole. The *fifth*, because in their *Armies*, over all the *Captaines*, and also the *Generall* himselfe, there goeth a *Generalissimo*, who is alwaies a man of the long robe: This man marcheth alwaies in the middle of the maine *Battalia*, and from the place of *Battaile* is many times a daies journy off; so that he is too remote to give orders, and to runne away, in any case of danger, he is most ready. The *sixth* is, that in their *Councells* of *warre* (of which they have two; one in the Court of *Nankim*; and the other in that of *Pekim*; and each hath a *President*, two *Collateralls*, and eight or nine *Colleagues*) there is not one *Souldier*, or *Captaine* among them, or any that hath ever seen the *warres*; and yet for all that, the whole *Militia* of the Kingdome is ordered by them, especially by the Councell of *Pekim*.

Only there might be answered to what hath been said, that the *Chinesses* do use training, and exercises of *warre*, for three months in the *Spring*, and three in the *Autumne* every year: which cannot be done without some profit, exercising themselves in shooting arrowes at a marke, and shooting also very well. But in truth this exercise of theirs is the most rediculous thing in the world: For dividing their men into squadrons, part feign themselves to be enemies, and part *Chinesses*, (as among us in *Portugall*, the boyes divide themselves into *Moores* and *Christians*) one part cometh, as it were, a farre off to warre with the other; then they send out spies, and send away messengers to the *Mandarines* (who are sitting not farre of under a *Canopie*, or *Pavilion* of silke) giving them notice, that they are in such a place, and the enemie in such a place; then the *Chinesses* send out a partie against them, who encountring knock their *Swords* and *Lances* one against the others, just as plaiers do upon a stage; and this, or very little more is all they do.

CHAP. 21.

Of the warre which the Tartars made upon China.

WHen *Humun* the first founder of the royall family that governeth at present, drove the *Tartar* out of the Kingdome, who had kept all *China* under his subjection ninetie years, he not only re-gained his own Kingdome, but entred likewise into those of the others and conquered those Kingdomes, that lay neerest him towards the *North*, obliging them to pay him tribute: neither did he let them remaine in the manner of Kingdomes, but the same *Humun* divided them into 160. families or States; giving them diverse dignities and offices. These States grew so great, that they divided themselves into three Kingdomes; one towards the *West*; another toward the *North*, and the third toward the *East*. The two first presently with-drew themselves from their obedience to the *Chinesses*; only he of the *East* remaining their friend, treating with them, and performing his obligations.

This continued for many years; till the *Chinesses* seeing that *Easterne* Kingdome

Kingdome to encreaſe much, whether it were for reaſon of ſtate, or for ſome other particular reſpect, they reſolved to fall upon it, and to bring them under, ſo that the *Tartars* forced by deſperation, reſolved at once to invade upon them; this is the uſuall effect of *Extortion* and *Tyranny*, and where the Prince would have more from the people, than they are able to give. Whence *Theopompus* King of the *Lacedemonians*, when his wife told him, that becauſe he had eaſed his people of many taxes, he would leave his ſoone a poorer Kingdome, than he had received from his Father, anſwered, *Relinquo, ſed diuturnius.* That is, I ſhall, leave him a more laſting Kingdome. The *Tartars* therefore ſecretly levied Souldiers, and on a ſudden fell upon a fort in the Province of *Leaotum*, and tooke it; making afterwards many in-roads to their profit, and to the great damage of the *Chineſſes*.

The *Tartars* of the *Weſt* and of the *North*, whether it were out of love to their Country, or out of intreſt, which is more probable, raiſed alſo an Army, and came in to the Succour of their *Eaſterne* Countrimen; and by little and little grew ſo numerous, that in the yeare 1618 two very great *Armies*, one *Chineſſe*, and the other *Tartar*, came to a field-battaile; in which the *Chineſſes* were vaniſhed and put to flight, with a very great loſs of men. And that it might the better be underſtood, how the ſtate of things were then, I will ſet down here a memorial or petition, which the *Preſident* of the *Councell of warre* gave the King concerning this buſineſſe; which I tranſlated at that time, and ſent it into *Europe* for news, and now I have found it here printed, and it ſaith thus.

A memoriall, or petition, preſented by the preſident of the Councell of Warre to the King.

IN this ſix and fourtieth year of your Reign, in the ſixth Moone, (which was the yeare 1618 *in the month of* Auguſt) *the* Preſident of the Councell of Warre *preſenteth you with this* Memoriall, *as to our Lord and King, upon occaſion that the* Tartars *are entred within the walls toward the* North, *in which he humbly petitioneth you, that you would attend this buſineſſe, and preſently open your Treaſures, and aſſiſt this Warre with men and ammunition. For the truth is, that in this month I have received intelligence from the* Captaines, *that reſide in the Province of the walls toward the* North; *wherein they give me notice, that in all parts of that Province there were proclamations publiſhed, wherein they did declare, that the* Tartars *were gathered together to Conquer this world of* China; *and gave me intelligence of the day appointed for the* Battaile; *the which accordingly was fought at that time, with a great ſtrength and multitude of people: and entring within the wals, they have taken ſome of our men, to Sacrifice them: and the day before the battaile they did Sacrifice them with great acclamations to their King; and have already proclaimed him King of* Pekim. *They bring with them many hundred thouſands of Souldiers; and each heareth about him ſeverall ſorts of* Armes. *Our men, who met to encounter and ſuppreſſe them, were two* Captaines-Generall, *ninety ſix ordinary* Captaines, *and* 300000 men at armes. *They joyned battaile, and in the firſt encounter they killed thirty eight of our Captaines, amongſt whom was one of our* Generals: *the others are ſlaine without number: they took alſo ſome thouſands*

of

of prisoners ; and in the retreat, by reason of the confusion and disorder, there were killed by them above a thousand of our men. The people of the Cities are fled, as also those of the other Townes. Whereupon, the same day they made themselves masters of three Cities. Upon the reciept of this newes we assembled the Councell, *the* Colao, *and other* Mandarines *of this Court, that in so weighty a businesse wee might finde some good expedient : And in truth it seemeth to us, that heaven doth favour the enemy, who otherwise could not have been able to have made such a slaughter of our people in one day, and to have taken three Cities : and so it seemeth heaven is angry with us. As also the* Prodigies, *which we have lately all seen, do demonstrate no lesse. In the Province of* Pekim *the last yeare it* raigned not at all ; *and the people went about like men halfe dead : and in the Province of* Xankim, *there was so great a* dearth *and* famine, *that the people did eat one another : and into* Nankim *came an infinite multitude of* Mice ; *neither was it discovered, whence that* plague *came. In the royall palaces, of five parts the* fire *burnt downe two, and the* wind *overthrew five Towers of this City : we saw* two Sunnes *together, and the one did* Eclipse *the other. These are all things of evill* Prognostication : *but above all, we saw a man enter into the royall Palaces with resolution to kill the Prince ; which he had done, had he not been hindred* (This fell out when the King would have constituted his second sonne heire of the Kingdome ; who was growne very powerfull by the favour and art of the Eunuches ; and, at that time, there came in a man to have killed the eldest sonne ; but he was hindred by his feare, and the women, who helped the Prince.) *And the worst is ; that, a* Mandarine *having spoken something high, shewing therein his fidelitie to you, our Lord, but for his* Loyaltie *you made him a* Traitour, *and commanded he should be put in prison, and although we made great means to free him, by declaring his innocency, yet you never gave eare unto us.* (This imprisonment was, when the King shewed his eldest sonne to the Mandarines in the royall hall, whom they would have had declared heire of the Kingdome, & the King would not : and one of them tooke the boldnesse to speake, and to plead for the true Prince, and was therefore committed prisoner by the King.)

Many times the Mandarines *presented* Memorialls ; *wherein they did relate the miserable condition of the people, desiring that their* Taxes *might be lessoned, a thing worthy of much consideration ; but neither did you make any account thereof. We the* Mandarines *of this court have severall times petitioned, that you would come out, and give* Audience *in publick, as your* Predecessours *hetherto have done ; that the government might be conformable to that of heaven, as it is most fitting : you answered us sometimes, that you were not well ; other times, that the weather was cold and rough, and that we should meet another day : we expected till* Spring *time, then till the beginning of* Summer, *that you would performe what you had promised ; but you not only gave no answer to the* second Memoriall, *but you commanded it to be burnt : and in this manner you live retired in the Palace, without making any account of what importeth you most. For this reason are the calamities so great ; and we persecuted with* warres. Peace *is wanting ; and, as it seemeth, it will be wanting ; for we are come to see* rivers of blood *running downe : and above all, in the third* moone *last past, there came some from the Province of* Xensi, *to tell us, that there had appeared there a man cloathed in yellow, with a green cap on his head, and in his hand a fan of feathers, who*

spake

ſpake thus, Vanli (that is the name of the King) *doth not governe, though he hath raigned long: he ſleepeth alwaies: the Kingdome is ready to be loſt, the people will die of hunger*; *the* Captaines *will be ſlaine and pierced through with lances: and when he had ſaid this, he vaniſhed. The* Mandarines *were amazed. The* Vice-roy *uſed great diligence to know who this man was: but could not poſſibly finde him out, ſeeing therefore the* calamites, famine, warre, *and other evills, which the Kingdome now ſuffereth, we plainly perceive, that it was a* prognoſtication *of theſe things. Wherefore we are againe returned to require you, ſpeedily to open your treaſures of mony; that freſh leavies of men may be made, and ſome remedy put to ſo great evills.*

This is the *Memoriall*, which was preſented in the year 1618 ſince when, the *Tartars* have continued every ſummer (for in the winter, by reaſon of the great cold, nothing can be done) to make conſiderable inroads; wherein they are commonly gainers, to the great loſſe of the *Chineſſes*. So that the yeár 1622, two principall *Madarines* of the fort of *Quamſi*, where; as being the chiefe fortreſſe of that Province, the *Vice-roy*, maketh his reſidence, (whether it were, that they were diſcontented, or had hopes to better their condition by it) made a ſecret agreement with the *Tartars* to deliver the fortreſſe into their hands; which accordingly they did; for the *Tartars* falling on upon that ſide, which was aſſigned them, aſſoone as ever they began the aſſault, they eaſily tooke it, by the Treaſon, which the others had plotted, and put to flight all them, who knew nothing of the treacherie; who, together with the *Vice-roy*, eſcaped to *Xambai*, the laſt fortreſſe (as it were) of that Province, and the firſt of the Province of *Pekim*; the key and ſtrength of the whole Kingdome.

Aſſoone as the newes of this laſt route came to Court, both the King and his *Grandees* were in great diſorder, and deliberated to change his abode, and to remove to the Court of *Nankim*, as fartheſt off from danger; and it had accordingly been put in execution, if a principall *Mandarin* (for there is alwayes found ſome one or other, who taketh care of the publick good) had not preſented a *Memoriall* to the King, wherein he demonſtrated to him, that this alteration would be the beſt and readieſt way to deſtroy the whole Kingdome, or the greater part at leaſt, by diſpoyling of all ſtrength, the Court and Province of *Pekim*, that was ſo neere the other Province, which was now ready to be loſt.

This *Memoriall* took effect; and by it the the deſigne of flying and ſeeking a new habitation, was broken off; it being formerly reſolved, that *Nankim* ſhould be fortified. There was therefore a proclamation ſent out, which under great penalties, did prohibite any to go out of the Court, not only *Mandarines* and people of qualitie, but even the common people alſo. Vpon this the people began to bee quieted, eſpecially ſeeing, that the Citie was ſtrengthened with new *Garriſons*, *Guards*, *Watches*, and a rigorous ſtrictneſſe at the gate. The chiefeſt care was to fortifie the paſſe at *Xam Hai Quàn*, which, as I ſaid above, is on the very frontire of the Province of *Leaotum*, which was already loſt, and on the entrance of the Province of *Pekim*, and by reaſon the place, ſtreightened on both ſides with very high mountaines, is impregnable: they ſent thither great ſtore of *Ammunition*, and freſh *Souldiers* in ſo great number, that it was repor-

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ted that at that poſt only they had 80000 men of Warre. The King alſo ſent new *Captaines* with ample power; which would have been of greater effect, if he could have given it them over the *Tartars*, to conduct them that way: who ſeeing it was not poſſible to make their entrance at that place, both becauſe it was ſo eaſie to defend, as alſo that it was well fortified with men, began to wheeleoff to the *Eaſt* ſide thereof, through part of *Corea*, giving off their deſigne of going toward *Pekim*; which if they had done with ſo powerfull and victorous an *Army*, they had put that Court into a greater feare and danger, than ever yet they had experience of. The *Chineſſes* met them not far from the Court, where there began ſo furious a *Battaile*, that many men loſt their lives both of the one and the other ſide; yet at the laſt the *Chineſſes* had the victorie: *ſo great endeavour will men uſe to defend their own home.*

A little while after this fight arrived at the Court of *Pekim* a *Portugheſs* named *Gonſalvo Texera*, who was ſent thither with an *Embaſſie* and a Preſent from the City of *Macao*; who ſeeing the inſolency of the *Tartars*, and the feare of the *Chineſſes*, and judging that by it they might do ſervice to the Crown of *Portugall*, and a kindneſſe to themſelves, in what the King of *China* might do for them, offered to the *Mandarines*, in the name of the City of *Macao*, ſome *Portugheſſes* to aſſiſt them againſt the *Tartars*. The profer was kindly accepted of, and a *Memoriall* was preſented to the King, who preſently returned a favourable anſwer. The *Councell of Warre* diſpatched a Father of our company to *Macao*, (who was already gone along with the *Embaſſadours* to negotiate this aſſiſtance) with ſeverall orders to the officers of *Cantone*, to expedite the buſineſſe as much as they could, with all liberalitie, and proviſion, and convenience for the men that were deſired of them.

Foure hundred men were put in order, that is 200 Souldiers, of which many were *Portugheſſes*, ſome whereof were borne in *Portugall*, and ſome there: but the moſt of them were people of that Countrie, who although they were *Chineſſes*, borne in *Macao*, yet were bred up among the *Portugheſſes* after their manner, and were good Souldiers, and ſhot well in *Guns*. To each Souldier was given a youth to ſerve him, who was bought with the Kings money, and ſo large pay for themſelves, that with it the *Souldiers* clothed themſelves richly, and provided themſelves with armes, and were after all that left very rich too.

Theſe *Souldiers* ſet out from *Macao* with two Captaines, one whereof was named *Pietro Corderio*, the other *Antonio Rodriquez del capoo*, with their *Alfieres* and other *Officers*. When they were come to *Cantone*, they muſtered themſelves with ſo much gallantrie, and with ſuch ſalutes of their *Muſquetrie*, that the *Chineſſes* were aſtoniſhed.

There they were furniſhed with boates to paſſe up the river, with all convenience, through the whole Province, being preſented by the Magiſtrates, when they came to any of their Cities and Villages, ſending refreſhment for them all, of *Hens*, *Beefe*, *Fruit*, *Wine*, *Rice*. &c.

They paſſed over the Mountaines which divide the Province of *Cantone* from that of *Kiamſi* (and is leſſe than a daies journey from the other River) all on horſe-back, even to the meaneſt of their ſervants. Preſently

ſenty, upon the other ſide of the Mountaine, they were imbarqued againe, and going down the River, they croſſed after the ſame manner almoſt all the Province of *Kiamſie*, till they came to the *Metropolis* thereof, where I lived at that time, and had under my direction a good number of Chriſtians, there they ſtayed only to ſee the City, and to be wel looked on by them. They were invited by many of the noble men, that they might looke upon the Faſhion of their habit, and other things which ſeemed ſtrange to them; they treated them with all manner of *Courteſie*, and commended and admired all, except the Slaſhing and pinking of their cloathes, not being able to conceive, why, when a piece of ſtuffe is whole and new, men ſhould cut it in ſeverall places for ornament. But, when they had ſeen this City, theſe men returned, without any other effect, but the expenſe and great loſſe of the *Chineſſes*, occaſioned by the *Tartars* in ſeverall encounters, becauſe they were deprived of this ſuccour.

The occaſion of their returne was, that the *Chineſſes*, who traffique in *Cantone* with the *Portugheſſes*, and are their Correſpondents for their buſineſſe, from which they draw a vaſt profit, began to perceive that by this entrance and the good ſucceſſe thereof, of which they made no doubt at all, it would be an eaſie thing for the *Portugheſſes* to obtaine licence to enter into the Kingdome, and to do their buſineſſe, and ſell their Merchandiſe themſelves, and by this meanes they ſhould come to loſe their gaines: therefore, before the *Portugheſſes* ſet out, they uſed all their endeavour to hinder their going, preſenting many papers againſt it, and at laſt, the Magiſtrate anſwering, that he could do no leſſe, having already parted with the money, and diſtributed among the *Souldiers*, not only ordinarie, but very high and advantagious pay, they offered, at their owne charges, to re-imburſe the whole money to the King. But ſeeing that this way neither they could obtaine their ends, it is reported, that they ſent to Court that money, which they would have given, and preſenting it to the *Mandarines*, prevailed ſo, that thoſe very men, who had propoſed the *Portugeſſes* to the King, as an important ſuccour, did againe preſent a memoriall, wherein they expreſſed, that there was now no need of them; The King anſwered, (and I my ſelfe ſaw the Royal anſwer,) It is not long ſince that ye did propoſe to us, that theſe men ſhould enter into the Kingdome, and aſſiſt us againſt the *Tartars:* now ye ſay, they are not neceſſarie. When ye propoſe any thing, it were good you conſidered of it better; howbeit, if they are not neceſſary, let them returne.

In this manner did that expedition of the *Portugheſſes* come to an end, without any profit at all to the Kingdome, but much to the *Souldiers*, beſides that they had an opportunitie to ſee a good part of *China*. The *Tartars* have ever ſince continued the warre after the ſame manner, and do continue it to this day; and have forced the Kingdome of *Corea* to pay them tribute, as they payed to *China*; although they ſtil pay to the *Chineſſes* as much as they did formerly.

CHAP. 22.

Of the King and Queenes of China, *and of the* Eunuches.

ALthough the *Chineſſes* have been ſo diligent in their *Chronicles* & Records, that they have preſerved the memorie of above 3000 yeares to this time; nevertheleſſe they have ſuffered a great loſſe and damage in the knowledge of many things contained in them by the burning of thoſe books, which are called by them *The Hiſtory*, and in reality, the buſineſſe was thus.

A King named *Tien*, (whither it were as ſome think out of the hatred he bore to learning, or as ſome hold with more probabilitie, that he might extinguiſh the memory of his *Anceſtours*, and leave only his owne to poſteritie) excepting only the books of *Phiſick*, as only neceſſarie to the Common-Wealth, commanded by a rigorous law, that the reſt of their books ſhould be burnt, with ſo much ſeveritie as if every volume were guilty of high treaſon, and under ſo great penalites for any that hid them, that it was to coſt him no leſſe than his life, and in effect he cauſed fourtie *Litterati* to be burned together with their books which they had hid.

This perſecuſion laſted the ſpace of fourty yeares, at what time they began to renew their ancient *Chronicles*, by meanes of certaine books and fragments that had eſcaped, ſome of them being buried under ground, and others immured in the middle of walls, and after many yeares and a diligent ſearch, they ſet on foot againe the more principall matters; yet there were many things wanting, and eſpecially concerning the firſt *Kings* and *Princes* of this *Kingdome*.

However it is certainly known, that their firſt *Government* was by way of *Families*; every one governing his own, as anciently the *Patriarks* did. The ſecond was *Monarchicall*, but it is not certaine how it began: neither have they any thing certaine concerning the originall of it. They do commit a notable errour in the time of their *Chronologies*: for the *Emperour Yao*, from whoſe time they do begin to give credit to their Hiſtories, even according to the moſt favourable computation, from the creation of the world to *Noah*, they make to be twelve yeares before the floud; nevertheleſſe, although there be an errour of the time in the Hiſtorie of this *Emperour* and thoſe that follow, it is certaine, that the matters related, are very coherent with their ſucceſſions.

Now this *Emperour Yao*, without having any regard to the naturall and lawful ſucceſſion of his ſonne, left the *Empire* to *Xun* his Sonne-in-law, only, becauſe he diſcovered in him parts and qualities worthie of the *Government*. *Xun* likewiſe for the ſame reſpect gave the *Empire* to *Yù*, who was no kin to him. Theſe three *Emperours* are much eſteemed by the *Chineſſes* for holy men: concerning whom they relate many things. And truly there is no doubt, but that they were *Philoſophers*, well inclined to morall vertues.

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They do attribute much merit to the laſt of theſe three, for the *Adjuſting* of the *waters* (as they call it :) which was done by him through the Kingdom, which in that time did abound in lakes and moariſh places, and therefore in many parts could not be tilled. This King going in perſon, and commanding large trenches to be made, (wherein many years were ſpent) he gave vent to that multitude of waters, and by that meanes recovered a great deale of ground which was of great profit for tillage. There are ſome in *Europe* who believe that theſe *waters* were the reliques of the *floud*. The *Chineſſes*, although they make a large mention of theſe *waters* in their books, of the draining of them, and of the benefit which accrued thereby to the Kingdom, do not ſay any thing of any occaſion or originall of them.

After theſe three *Emperours* abovenamed, the *Empire* was ever continued by ſucceſſion ; but not in the ſame *family* ; for there were many Princes and Lords, who although they were ſubject to the Emperour, yet, ſometimes for particular reſpects, and otherwhile under pretence of evill *Government* and *Tyranny*, made *warres*, *confederacies* and *diſorders*, with which they either diſturbed and troubled the *Monarchy*, or divided it, or elſe uſurped it all to themſelves ; So that although it laſted in ſome families many years, as in that of *Tham* for 400. years, and in ſome other *families* little leſſe, yet the *Monarchy* from the beginning, to this preſent day, hath been changed into two and twenty ſeverall *Families*.

The Lords of particular ſtates continued in *China* 2000 years, till in the year of our redemption 1206, the *Tartars*, who then poſſeſſed another Country, began to make themſelves Maſters of *China* ; and advanced ſo farre by degrees, till at length they brought it all under their ſubjection, reigning there as abſolute, till the year 1368. At what time, *Hum Vu*, the founder of the family, which reigneth at preſent, ſeeing the ſtrength of the *Tartars* to be diminiſhed, and their *Tyranny* encreaſed, and the people ſo wearied therewith that they were well diſpoſed to ſhake off the yoake, and ſet themſelves at libertie ; gathered together an army with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that he not only diſcomfited the *Tartars*, and drove them out of the Kingdom, but entred alſo into their Country, and conquered a good part thereof.

The *Kingdome* being thus re-eſtabliſht in its naturall eſtate, *Hum Vu* ſeeing himſelfe become abſolute *Lord* thereof, ſet on foot an admirable kinde of *Government*, differing in part from that of all other *Monarchies* ; yet it is ſuch a one, as hath now been conſerved almoſt 300 years, with ſo much ſubjection, communication and dependance from its head, that ſo great an *Empire*, ſeemeth to be but, as it were, one well governed convent. This *King* in the firſt place conferred many favours and graces upon all his ſubjects: Liberalitie being that, which doth moſt demonſtrate a royall minde: he created new officers, yet retained he ſome of the former ones, as we ſhall relate in its proper place.

To the *chiefe* and *principall Captaines* he aſſigned large revenues, to the *ſecond* a very competent maintenance, and to thoſe of the *third* ſort, ſufficient. He tooke away all the *Princes* and *Lords* of vaſſals and ſubjects, without leaving one: he prohibited by a rigorous law, that none of the

Royall family, neither in peace nor warre, nor in any caſe, might beare office in the *Common-wealth*, either *civil*, *criminall*, or *military*; neither might they be ſuffered to enter into the *examinations*, to receive their degree (the which laſt prohibition, as I have formerly ſaid, hath been lately taken away in part.) He placed the whole *Government* in the *Litterati*, who are created ſuch by way of concurrence, (as hath been declared, when I ſpake of the examinations) without any dependance at all on the Magiſtrates, or the King himſelfe, but only by the merit of their learning, good parts, and vertues. He did not annull thoſe ancient lawes, which concerned good *Government*, and hindred not his intent; which was only to perpetuate the *Monarchy* in his *Poſteritie*. But he made many new ones, and modelled the Common-wealth and the *Government* into that form, wherein it ſtandeth at preſent; although in ſo many years, and in ſo vaſt a *Monarchie*, it hath not been poſſible, but that it ſhould receive ſome alteration, though not in any eſſentiall part thereof.

The *King* is called by diverſe names. For the better underſtanding whereof, you muſt know that there are *thirteen things* remarkable at his *Coronation*. The *firſt* is the changing of the account of years, beginning their ſupputation a new from the entrance of the new Kings reigne; and this not only in their ordinary diſcourſe, but in all letters, diſpatches, proviſoes, writings, *&c.* The *ſecond*, that there is coyned new mony, with the letters of his name, although the former continueth current alſo. The *third* is, That he Crowneth his true wife, making her as it were, *Empreſſe*. The *fourth* is, That he giveth the name of *Queen* to ſix *Concubines*. The *fifth* is, That there are great ſacrifices made to *Heaven*, to the *Earth*, to the *Spirits*, &c. The *ſixt*, That there are great ſtore of Almes given to the poore. The *ſeaventh*, That all priſoners are ſet at libertie, whoſe freedom is not prejudiciall to a *third* party. The *eighth*, That there are ſumptuous banquets made for the Magiſtrates. The *ninth*, That all the women are to depart out of the Palace, that have been *Concubines* to the former King. The *tenth*, The Palaces, which are foure in number, wherein the other women lived, are furniſhed againe with new women, pickt & choſen throughout the whole realme: in time of which ſearch there are many marriages made, every one endeavouring to deliver his daughter from that ſubjection. The *eleventh*, The *Nobilitie* of the *bloud royall* do ſend deputies (not every one, but all thoſe of one City) to render obedience to the King, and to acknowledge him for ſuch: In like manner alſo do the *Tituladoes*, which cannot do it in their owne perſons. The *twelfth* is, That all Officers, from *Vice-royes* to the meaneſt Judges of Townes, go in perſon to *Court*, to render the ſame obedience, on the behalfe of their Provinces, Cities, and Townes. Laſtly the Kings name is changed, as is uſed among us at the election of the *Pope*; and this is that name, which is written in all publick acts, on moneyes, *&c.* It is a name of a particular, but royall perſon, as that of this Kings Grandfather was, *Vam Lie*; of his father, *Thai Cham*; of his Brother who raigned firſt, *Thien Khi*; and of this King, *Teum Chim*.

They have moreover three names, which ſignifie a King: The *firſt* is *Kiun*, and by this they uſe to call forreigne Kings: The *ſecond* is *Vam*, and by this name they call the Infantoes, or Kings children; joyning them together

gether *Kiun Vam*, they make a name, by which their King may be called. But the principall name is *Ho Am Ti*, that is, *Emperour*.

In the Palace, the Women, Eunuchs, and other domesticks thereof call him *Chu*, that is, Lord. They call him also *Thien Zu*, which is to say, *Sonne of Heaven*; not because they believe him to be such, but because they hold, that *Empire* is a gift of heaven; as also to render the respect, which is due to the royall person, more sacred: and in realitie, the reverence which they use towards him, seemeth more befitting a Divine, than humane person; and the manner how they behave themselves at this day in his presence, is more proper for a Church, than a prophane Palace.

I said at this day, because in former times it was not so. For then the Kings of *China* lived according to the fashion of the greatest part of the other Princes of the world: They went abroad, conversed, hunted; and there was one of them so greedy of this recreation, that, whereby he might have the opportunity of spending whole months together in hunting without returning to Court, and attending upon the affaires of government, did substitute one of his Sonnes in his place. The *Emperours* did visit in person the whole Kingdome, at what time there happened that story which is so famous in *China*, and which deserveth likewise to be known in *Europe*.

The *Emperour* going this progresse, in a certaine way met with a company of men, who were leading certaine prisoners. He caused the coach to stop, and enquired what the matter was; which as soone as he had understood, he fell a weeping. They who accompanied him began to comfort him, and one of them said unto him, Sir, *It is not possible, but that in a Common-wealth there must be chastisements; it cannot be avoyded; so have the former Kings, your predecessours, commanded it to be; so have the laws ordained it; so doth the government of the state require it.* The King answered, *I weepe not to see these men prisoners, nor to see them chastised: I know very well, that without rewards the good are not encouraged, and without chastisement the wicked are not restrained, and that chastisement is as necessary to the government of a Kingdome, as bread is for the nourishment and sustenance thereof. But I weepe, because my time is not so happy, as that of old was, when the vertues of the Princes were such, that they served as a bridle to the people, and their example was sufficient to restraine the whole Kingdome without any other chastisement.* This was a *Heathen*, who spake thus: and who seeth not how much reason we have to envy these *Heathens*, who, although they are exceeded by us in the knowledge of things belonging to *faith*, do yet oftentimes surpasse us in the practise of *morall vertues?*

According as I have said, the ancient Kings did personally attend the *Government*, giving audience very easily and very frequently to all their subjects. In the time of King *Tham* there was a *Colao*, who having been his Master, was very powerfull with him, who, to preserve himselfe in his grace and favour, studied more to speak what should please the King, than to tell him the truth for the good of his state: a most abominable thing. But the *Chinesses* seeing his honour was great, and the Kings favour towards him very extraordinary, did dissemble it all; notwithstanding they forbere not to speak of it among themselves, and to taxe the flattery of

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the *Colao*. One day certaine Captaines of the guard diſcourſing among themſelves in the Palace concerning this point, one of them, being a little warmed with the diſcourſe, ſecretly withdrawing himſelfe out of the company, went into the hall, where the King then was, & kneeled downe upon his knees before him, the King asking, what he would have? He anſwered; *Leave to cut off the head of a flattering ſubject.* And *who is that*, replied the King? *Such a one, that ſtands there*, anſwered the other. The King being angry, ſaid, *Againſt my Maſter dare you propoſe this, and in my preſence? Let them take him away and cut off his head.* When they began to lay hands upon him, he caught hold of a wooden balanſter, and as there were many pulling of him, and he holding with a great deale of ſtrength, the balanſter broke. By that time the Kings anger was over; and he commanded they ſhould let him go, and gave order, that the balanſter ſhould be mended, and that they ſhould not make a new one, that it might remaine a witneſſe of the fact, and the *Memoriall* of a ſubject, that was not afraid to adviſe his King, what he ought to do.

Such was the facility, with which, not only the Officers, but any one whoſoever of the people, might have admiſſion to the King; ſo that within the firſt gate of the Palace, there was always a Bell, a Drumme, and a Table overlaid with a white varniſh, as it were, playſtered over; upon this, he that would not ſpeak to the King in perſon, wrote what his requeſt was, which was preſently carried to the King: But whoſoever would ſpeak with him, rang the Bell, or beat the Drumme, and preſently they were brought in, and had audience.

The Drumme remaines even to this day; but as it ſeemeth to me, rather in memory of the times paſt, than for any uſe of the preſent: for during twenty two years time, I do not remember, that it was ever beaten above once: and he that did it, was preſently paid his penſion in ready *Baſtinadoes*; for having diſquieted the King, who was about halfe a league off. After this hard penance, he was heard, and allowed, not to ſee or ſpeak to the King, but according to the cuſtome now in uſe, in a petition. So that the Kings are now become ſo retired, and removed from the ſight of the people, and as it were, ſo idolized, and mewed up in their Palaces, that they give them occaſion to think in other Countries, that the King of *China* never ſuffereth himſelfe to be ſeen, and that he is always ſhut up in a glaſſe, and only ſheweth one foot, and ſuch like things.

He who firſt put himſelfe in this manner of living, was *Vam Lie*, the Grandfather of him that reigneth at preſent; he had ſome occaſion to do it, becauſe he was ſo fat, that it put him to great paine and trouble, to carry himſelfe in publick, with that *Gravitie* and *Majeſtie*, that is proper to a King; and therefore he did exempt himſelfe wholly from this trouble. He gave no *Audience*; he went not to the ſacrifices; he went not out in publick: nevertheleſſe he was a perſon of great prudence and judgement in managing the government: He was much eſteemed of the *Mandarines*, though he made little account of them. He uſed to ſay many times, when any one was troubleſome by replying often with their memorialls or petitions, in which kinde the *Chineſſes* are very importunate, *I was a King, and governed before this fellow was borne, and yet he will undertake to teach me.*

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His Sonne, who succeeded him, changed also the former fashion, as also they that followed, going out indeed in publick, but so moderately, that it is only sometimes in the month to hold a *Royal Audience*, and foure times a yeare they go out of the *Palace*, and out of the City, to Sacrifice at the foure seasons of the yeare, to *Heaven*, and to the *Earth*, in a *Temple* built for this purpose without the walls of the City.

This *Temple* is truly *Royall*, as well in the greatnesse thereof, as in the exquisitenesse of the workmanship: the figure of it is round, with three rowes of pillars one above another, for it stands as it were on a Hill or Mount compassed about with those pillars. The wall of the *Temple* beginneth at the top of the third row; there are foure paire of staires by which they ascend to it, placed towards the foure windes, all of white marble and very well wrought.

The *Temple* of *Nankim* is a very perfect and compleat piece of workmanship, it hath five Isles sustained by pillars of wood, which have no painting or ornament upon them, except on their *Pedestalls*, that it may bee seen that each is made of one entire piece of wood. Truly they are the goodliest trees, the biggest, highest, most uniform and equall (although they are very many) that can be imagined. And as for my part, I confesse it is one of the remarkable things I have seen in *China*; and that one shall hardly find in all the rest of the world, so many trees of that beauty aud uniformitie. The *Seeling* is all guilded, and although it be above 200 yeares since it was done, and that it be farre remote from the eye of the King, (the Sacrifices not being made therein, which are wont to be performed only at the Court, where the King resideth) yet it doth to this day keep its splendour. In the middle thereof are raised two Thrones made of the most precious marbles, on one of them the King used to sit when he came thither to sacrifice: the other was left empty for the *Spirit*, to whome the Sacrifice was offered. The gates are all adorned with plates of Copper, enriched with severall works and embossments, all gilt: without the *Temple* are many Alters, with the statues of the *Sunne*, *Moon*, *Planets*, *Spirits*, *Mountaines*, *Rivers* &c. Round about the *Temple* are severall cells, They say that anciently they were Baths, where the King and the Ministers that were to Sacrifice, did wash themselves. The Grove, which standeth on the rest of the plaine, consisteth of severall trees, but the greatest part are Pines: not so much as a Twigge of them may be cut off under most grevious penalties. The wal that encompasseth it is covered with glazed Tiles, some of yellow colour, others of green. The circuit thereof is twelve miles.

To this *Temple*, as I said, the King cometh, and when he cometh forth, the wayes are Barracado'ed, leaving only free that part through which the King is to passe: who bringeth with him so many *Eunuches*, who encompasse him, so many Officers that accompanie him, and so many Souldiers that guard him, that it is altogether impossible for him to be seen, especially being carried in a Sedan.

These are the only occasions, wherein the King either appeareth or goeth abroad. All the rest of his time he staieth at home in his *Palace*, like a King of Bees, without either seeing or being seen. Many are perswa-

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ded, that this is not to live like a King, but like a criminall Perſon condemned to perpetuall impriſonment. How ever, it ſeemeth to me a great matter, that a man, without being ſeen, by his power only ſhould be the moſt reverenced, the moſt obeyed and feared, of all the Kings in the world. And as for the priſon, if we will call his *Palace* ſo, it is very large and pleaſant for to give him delight, beſides that he hath the libertie to go out whenſoever he pleaſeth, & his habitations therein are ſo commodious, and full of all manner of entertainment, of pleaſure and recreation, that he hath no need to ſeek abroad wherewith to content himſelf.

His *Palaces*, laying every thing together that is contained in them, I think are the beſt that are to be found in the world. Thoſe of *Nankim*, which are the biggeſt, containe about five miles in circuit. Thoſe of *Pekim*, are ſomewhat leſſe, but much the better. Theſe are not all one *Palace*, but many, at a good diſtance one from the other. That of the *King*. That of the *Queen*. That of the *Prince*. That of the *Younger Sonnes*. That of his *Daughters who are married*. That of the *Second* and *Third Queens*. For the *Concubines* there are foure, at the foure corners, and are from them named the *Palaces* of the *Ladies*. There are alſo ſome *Palaces* for the old and Penitent women, which they call *Lemcum*, that is, the cold *Palaces*. Beſides there are colledges for the *Eunuches*, for the *Litterati*, *Prieſts*, *ſinging-men*, *Comedians* &c. and almoſt infinite habitations for ſo many Offices as there are there within, and for that multitude of people that are employed there, who are at the leaſt 17000 perſons.

The ſtructure of the *Palaces* is very exact, having many things in it after the manner of ours; as *Arches*, *Balanſters*, *Columnes* and, ſuch like, of Marble excellently wrought, with ſeverall little workes and curious enrichments, as alſo emboſſements, or figures in *relieve*, ſo well raiſed and ſtanding out, that they ſeem to hang in the aire. That which is wrought in wood, is all varniſhed over with their *Charan*, painted and guilded very exquiſitely.

The *Halls* and Roomes, although they are not, as it is here reported, one of Gold, another of Silver, another of precious ſtones, neither do they uſe any hangings; yet the hand of the Architect, and the penſil of the painter doth ſupply all other ornaments. The Baſe Courts are very neat and ſpacious. There are alſo many pleaſant Gardens, and a River which runneth among the *Palaces*, and yeeldeth them much delight with his windings and turnings. There are many artificiall mounts with very rare Beaſts and Birds, many Gardens made with exquiſite diligence, and all manner of curioſitie. There was a certaine King among them, who being diſcontented at the ſpoile which the winter made in the beauty of the trees, depriving them both of leaves and flowers, commanded that many artificiall ones ſhould be made, with great labour and expence, and little ſatisfaction of the Magiſtrates, who did much blame him.

The whole fabrique is encompaſſed with two walls that have foure gates opening to the foure windes, *Eaſt*, *Weſt*, *North*, and *South*, and this laſt is the chiefeſt, and maketh a beautifull and ſightly *facciata* or aſpect to the *Palaces*.

At every gate there ſtand every night five Elephants (which are not bred

bred in that Countrie, but come from other parts) with their Souldiers belonging to them, and the whole wall round about is guarded with Souldiers.

Within the ſaid Gates, there is a Court able to containe 30000 Perſons; and there ſtandeth alwaies a Guard of 30000 men.

At the uper end of this Court there are five Gates, which lead into a very large *Hal* of the *Palace*; in the midſt whereof is placed a *Royal Throne*, which ſtandeth empty, and is called, *The Throne of courteſies*, becauſe all they, who go out, do make their reverence to it, as you ſhall hear anone.

As for the Women, there is only one of them, which is the Kings true wife, and hath the name of *Hoam Heu*, which ſignifieth *Empreſſe*; and is acknowledged for ſuch, having her ſeate behind that of the Kings. There are alſo other ſix Women, who have the title of Queens, and are alſo much reſpected. In the Palaces of *Nankim*, which becauſe they are empty, are more eaſie to be ſeen, there is a *Royall Throne* raiſed upon ſeverall ſteps, and a cloth of ſtate over it, with two Royall ſeates, one for the King, and the other for the Queen. And lower behind that, there ſtand ſix, three on the one ſide, and three on the other, for the ſix Queens. The King hath thirty Women more; who are all much honoured and reſpected.

The other Ladies of the *Palace*, who as they ſay, are about 3000 in number, have their Appartments in the foure Palaces above-ſaid, and are beautifull Damſels, ſought out on purpoſe through the whole Kingdome. To theſe the King goeth, when he pleaſeth, and to which of them liketh him beſt.

The preſent King hath the reputation to be chaſte, and they uſe to ſay of him, *Puycu Cum*, that is, *he goeth not to the Palaces*. There have been formerly other Kings, like to him in this, who are much commended in their hiſtories; as on the contrary, others who are much blamed; ſuch was one of them, whoſe beaſtial appetite, not being able to determine to what *Palace*, or to what part of it he ſhould go, uſed in this irreſolution to ſuffer himſelf to be lead and guided by beaſts, that is, he had a little chariot drawn with Goates, in which he rid to the *Palaces*, and whereſoever they entred, or ſtopped, thither he went in.

Another, to ſave himſelf the labour of going to the *Palaces*, cauſed Pictures to be drawn of every Ladie, and according as he fancied each Picture, he ſent for the originall to be brought to him; leaving the beauty of each of them in the power of the Painter, ſhe being ſtill made the fayreſt, whom he favoured moſt, or from whom he received the beſt Preſent.

But concerning the Kings children; if the Empreſſe and true wife of the King, hath a ſonne, at what time ſoever he be borne, he taketh place of the reſt: but if ſhee have none, the firſt ſonne of any of his women whatſoever, taketh place; although the King deſire, that another ſhould have the precedency. So it happened to *Vamlie*, who although he had none by his lawful wife, the *Empreſſe*; yet had two ſonnes, one by a waiting maid, which was the eldeſt, and another younger ſonne by one of the Queenes his *Concubines*; which ſonne he loved very much; and by reaſon of the

particular affection he bore him, would by all means leave him the Kingdom, saying, That by reason he had no Sonne by his lawfull wife, the succession was not due by right to any of the rest, but that it belonged to him, to elect which of them he pleased: and because the elder was the Sonne of a servant, he chose rather to leave the Kingdome to the other; notwithstanding, the Officers of the Court did very stoutly oppose him, saying, That since he had had commerce with that servant, she was enobled by a superiour law, and that her sonne, being the eldest, he ought not to lose the rights and priviledge of his birth. There happened upon this a *Tragedy*, with severall acts of discontent. For the King persisted to carry on his intention, and the Officers in resisting him: whereupon many lost their offices, the King taking them away; others left theirs of their owne accord, and having laid downe the ensignes of their dignity, hung them up at the gate of the *Palace*, and departed to their own houses, despising at once the honour, profit, dignity and revenue of their places, only for the defence of reason, and of the laws and customs of the Kingdom. A courage worthy to be imitated, in divine affaires at least, if not in all secular causes. At length the King, being no longer able to contrast, was forced, besides his wont, to hold a *Royall Audience*, and taking his eldest sonne, now as Prince, placed him next behinde him, and shewing him to the *Mandarines*, he recommends unto them the care of the publick peace, and quiet without doores, assuring them, that within the Palace all was quiet, and that *Thai Cham*, that was the name of the present Prince, should succeed him without fayle in the Kingdom, as in effect it fell out. So prevalent is reason, and the constancy of Counsellours even against the most powerful Kings.

Among the Domesticks of the *Palace*, the *Eunuchs* make the greatest number. In the year 1626. there were reckoned to be 12000. of them, and for the most part their number is very little greater; or lesse. They are all distributed into their *Palaces*, *Colledges*, *Classes*, *Tribunals*, and *Occupations*: So that within the Royall *Palace*, there are as many *Tribunals*, to decide causes, as there are without; not to speak of the women, who have their justice apart; there being among them some, who are appointed to governe and judge the rest, and to decide their differences; as also to condemne and punish them: and this, no more than is necessary.

The first and principall *Colledge* of the *Eunuchs*, is called, *Su Li Kien*; and consisteth of the great *Secretaria* of purity; of the chancery within the *Palace*, and of many Assistants, who are always advanced in the same *Colledge* according to their examinations and trialls. These always accompany the Kings person; and when he goeth abroad, have the place next his body. These may enter without being called; and, the manner of the Kings governing, being by way of petitions, and rescripts, every thing passeth through their hands.

Next followeth the *Colledge*, which they call, *Thum Cham Su*, which is, as it were, a *Soveraigne Tribunall* of justice, over all the *Eunuchs*. This causeth their persons to be arrested, this condemneth and causeth them to be punished; and not only the *Eunuchs*, but also other persons of great *Authority*, in matters of high concernment are remitted to them; and it is the most *rigorous Tribunal* of justice of all those in *China*. The *President* is also

Captaine

Captaine of the Kings guard, which consisteth of 9000. men, 6000. foot, and 3000. horse. In time of warre he entreth into the *Councell of warre*, where he is allowed the highest place.

There are also other *Colledges* and *Tribunals*; as those of severall *Treasuries*, the *Treasurie* of *Jewells*, of rich *Moveables*, of *Habits*, of *Magazines*, &c.

There is also a *Colledge* of *Judiciall Astrologers*, who observe the stars, and the motion of the Heavens, who together with the chiefe *Mathematician*, who is always a *Mandarine* abroad, do make the *Almanacke* for the year following.

There is a *Colledge* of particular *Priests*, called *Laon Su*, (for the *Bonzi* are not admitted, neither may they enter into the Kings Palaces) these have the charge of the Divine service, the Chappells, Offices, and Sepultures of the dead *&c.* There are also *Colledges* of *Musitians*, *Comedians* or *Players*, *Painters*, *Gold-smiths*, every one performing his office requisite to a well ordered Common-wealth.

Without the *Palace* many are prefects of the publick works, of the guards which keep watch every night without the *Palaces*, of the Kings sepultures, of the Gabells and Impositions, and other such employments, by which they grow very rich: and by reason they have no children (though they are most of them married,) they make great expenses: they have sumptuous Country-houses without the City, and within, *Palaces* full of all delights, richly furnished, & a stately traine of Servants, Their sepulchres are the most costly, they have the strongest perswasion of the *Transmigration of Soules*, and, that they might be well provided when they take their next new forme, are the most devoutest worshippers of the Idols.

The *Eunuchs* are exempted from all those Courtesies & complements, which others are obliged to pay the *Mandarines*; as, lighting off their horses, or coming out of their chaires when they meet them. In the Court they are not permitted to have many servants after them, nor to weare very rich apparell, and but few are allowed to be carried in a sedan, yet almost all of them are suffered to ride on horse-back.

When in the *Palace* there is not an *Eunuch* that is the Kings *favourite*, the *Eunuchs* which live without the *Palace* are wont to make great Court to the *Mandarines*, lend them their faire and commodious houses, and endeavour by all observance to gaine their good will. But if it happen, that the King have an *Eunuch* to his *favourite*, as sometimes it falleth out, presently they grow insolent, the governments are conferred upon them, and then they get the upper hand.

The last King had an *Eunuch*, who arrived to all that grace and favour with him, that can be imagined: this fellow governed with so great insolence and *Tyranny*, that he apprehended, chastised, and put to death, even Persons of the greatest *Qualitie*. To touch him, though but in imagination, was an excesse of *Treason*. And though the *Chinesses* are very free and bold in speaking the truth, even to the King himselfe, yet none durst speak against him.

The *Prince*, who is now King, undertooke the businesse; who only told

the King his father, that his subjects Persons of worth and quality were ill used. This was sufficient to banish the *Eunuch* out of the Palace, who at length miserably ended his dayes. For as soone as the King was dead, he poysoned himselfe; and at the same time put a period to his favour and his life; but not to the peoples hatred, who as soone as he was dead, dragged him about the streets, and tore him to pieces: All his goods were confiscate to the King: they amounted to a great value, for there was scarce any body who had not formerly presented him, and many had given him very rich presents. Among other things there were found two chests full of Pearle only; it was said, he had robbed the Kings Treasury of them. The sumptuous works, which were either begun or ended through the whole Kingdom, in honour of him, as Temples to place his statue in (which they call *Temples of the living*, and use to erect them to eminent persons, who have deserved well of the King and Kingdome) *Palaces*, *Triumphall Arches*, and such like fabriques, were all cast down to the ground, leaving no other memory of them, than a comedy, which was presently made of him, and is yet acted to this day, concerning his disgrace and driving out of the *Palace*.

Now because some of these *Eunuchs*, are many times dismissed, and turned away, others grow old, and many die, from time to time there are young ones chosen in, to be put in their places: upon this account there comes almost infinite of these *Eunuchs* to the Court, who are made such by their parents; either for the profit which they make by it, because they are always bought of them for a price, or else for the advantage they may receive by them, when they come to preferment in the Palace, or for those other conveniences, which are certaine and assured to persons of this condition.

At every election, there are chosen about 3000 of them; at what time they principally consider in their choise, their age, good shape and behaviour, their speech and gracefull pronunciation, but above all, that they wholly want that, which they pretend to have lost, and that they be compleatly *castrated*; and moreover, every fourth year they are visited, least any thing should grow out againe, which hath not been well taken away.

When the election is done, the rest are sent away from the Court, and those that are chosen, are destributed to those lodgings, occupations and offices, to which they are to apply themselves. This is done almost, as it were by destiny, for without observing of them any more than a few days, some are put to study, and go to the Colledges of the greatest credit, honour and profit, others are chosen for Priests, others for Singers, Comedians, *&c.* And others for the kitchin, and such like meane and laborious occupations.

This is that which passeth in the *Palace* within the gates in what appertaineth to the Kings person and service. That which passeth without doores is also very particular, and with so much exactnesse, that it exceedeth all *Hyperbole*: and although the kingdome be so vast and large, yet it is not sufficient to hide one guilty person, that would make his escape. The very trees seem to be afraid to cover him with their shade. If a per-

son

ſon of qualitie be to be apprehended, they ſend the Miniſters of juſtice to him; who have no more to do, but to throw the cord or chaine at his feet; the which he himſelfe taketh up, and putteth about his neck, as if it were a chaine of Gold; and the very name of theſe is ſufficient to ſtrike a terrour in any.

In the City of *Sucheu* in the Province of *Nankim*, there lived a *Mandarine*, a grave Perſon, who had paſſed through moſt of the greateſt Offices in the Kingdome, with great ſatisfaction and good liking of the people, it was in the time of that powerfull *Eunuch*, of whom we ſpake even now, this man had intelligence that theſe Miniſters of juſtice would be ſent to him, he ſtayed not their coming, but made a banquet to his kindred and friends, toward the end thereof going out, as if it had been upon ſome other occaſion, he caſt himſelfe out of a Balcone into a fiſh Pond, where he drowned himſelfe. His Gueſts ſeeing him ſtay ſo long, went out to looke him, and found upon a Table a paper having theſe words written with his own hand, *Turning towards the Palace, I performe the reverence due to my King, whom I have alwayes endeavoured to ſerve with reſolutions becoming a faithfull ſubject: and it is not reaſonable, that I ſhould ſuffer from the hand of an* Eunuch *affronts worthy a baſe and criminall Perſon.*

There needs no more than two letters ſent from the King, and put in any place, to make it remaine, as it were, inchanted: ſo that, if they want any thing in the Palace, as *Chà*, *Fruit*. &c. it is ſufficient to ſend to the Countrie, where thoſe things are they deſire, to give them notice only, and to ſet up thoſe two letters, *Xim Chi*, that is, *the will of the King*, and preſently every thing is made ready, and none dare ſtir ſo much as a leafe of it. The ſame thing hapneth when there is any extraordinarie buſineſſe to be done, which carrieth ſome difficultie with it; for it is ſufficient to ſet up the two letters above-ſaid, and all oppoſition is levelled, as it fell out when the King gave the houſes of an *Eunuch*, who was a priſoner, to the Fathers of our company, for a burying place, by clapping the ſaid letters upon them.

In all the Cities of the Kingdome every moneth, on the firſt day of the moone the Magiſtrates aſſemble themſelves at the tribunall of the Governour before a Throne, where are placed the *Royall Enſignes*; and there they do reverence to them in the ſame manner, as they would do to the King himſelfe, if he were preſent. They do the like alſo one his birth day.

At the beginning of every yeare each Province ſendeth an Embaſſadour to viſit the King; and as often as they write letters to him, they do not ſend them by way of the poſt, but a principall *Mandarine* goeth to carry them. But their memorialls, or petitions they ſend by the Poſt. Every three yeeres, all the great *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, go to do homage to the King.

None may enter into the *Royall Palaces*, no not into the firſt gate, if he be clothed in Mourning, neither do they go to make their reverence in an ordinarie habit; but in that extraordinarie one appointed for *Courteſies*; and the Magiſtrates are to put on a red garment.

None, of what condition ſoever, may paſſe before the gates of the Palace on horſe-back, nor in a Sedan, nor in any other manner, except on foot

foot, no not if they be women; and by how much the *Qualitie* of the Person is the greater, so much the further off is he to light, and go a-foot.

All the Officers and Persons of *Qualitie*, who come to the Court, are presently obliged either in the morning early, if they come, or late at night, if they go out, to go to *Kun Chao*, that is, the Court of *Ceremonies*, as is above-said, and before the *Royall Throne*, which is placed in a Hall, although the King be not there, who at that houre is for the most part in bed, and when all that came in that morning, are assembled, (there being no morning that there is not a good number of them) the Master of the *Ceremonies* commeth, and with a loud voice declareth the *Ceremonies*, which every one ought to performe, and they all in the same manner put them in execution: and if by misfortune any one committeth an errour or doth any gesture not reverently enough, it belongeth to the Master of the *Ceremonies* to give the King notice thereof by a memoriall, as in like manner doth the Person that is culpable, accusing himselfe, and requiring some penance for it: but this is done purely out of *Ceremony*, the king never taking any heed to it.

All *Embassadours* are obliged likewise to the same *Ceremonies*, when they enter into the Court, or go out thereof: they use to be lodged in one of the *Palaces*, which are within a spacious circuit of wal, neere to the *Royall Palace*, and are alwayes kept in a readinesse for that purpose, where they are royally treated, and at great expence; but they may not go out of that circuit, and if they would have any thing out of the City, it is brought to them into that place: they neither see nor speak to the King; but only the *Councell of Rites* by the Kings order treateth with them, and dispatched them.

The *Portugheses*, those two severall times they were sent thither from the City of *Macáo*, were not only treated with extraordinary magnificence, and liberalitie; but had also that particular priviledge to lodge out of that place: and the first of them that were sent, saw King *Thienkhie*, the brother of him who now reigneth, he was very young, and out of curiositie to see men of a strange Nation, he caused them to come to the *Palace*, and although it was at a good distance, yet he saw them, and was plainly seen by them.

Every one in the Kings presence speaketh to him on his knees, if he be in the *Royall Hall* with the Magistrates, he goeth away before they rise up, if he be sick and they come to visit him, they speak to him in the same manner, and before they rise off their knees a Curtaine is drawn before him, or else he turneth himselfe on the other side. When they speak to him, they hold in their hands before their mouth a Tablet of Ivory a palm and a half long, and three or foure inches broad: it is an ancient *Ceremony*, for in old time, when they spake in a more familiar manner to the King, out of reverence they held something between, to keep their breath from coming to the Kings face, and also when they discoursed with him of many businesses, they carried the heads of them written thereon, that they might not forget them. But now that they speake to the King at such a distance, and not so long, this *Ceremonie* might be excused, if

if it were not, that they will keep up an old cuſtome.

The Kings *Garments* differ not in faſhion from thoſe of the reſt, but in the ſtuffe, which is very rich, and in certaine Dragons which are woven and embroydered in them, and no other Perſons may weare them, but only the King, and thoſe that are of kin to him; as the *Princes* of the *Blood*, and particularly the women, and the *Eunuchs* of the Kings family, but with ſome diſtinction. The colour is yellow, not but that other colours may be worne in the Palace, for they weare light colours of all ſorts, but yellow is ſo proper to the King, and to all that he wears, that none elſe may uſe it.

CHAP. 23.

How the Kings of China *are Married.*

AT that time, when there were ſeverall Kings and Lords in *China*, they tooke one anothers daughters for *Wives*, as they do in *Europe*. But they being at an end, and the *Monarchy* reduced under one only Lord, and he being never to take a wife out of the Kingdom, it is neceſſary, that he marry a daughter of one of his ſubjects. Perſons of *Quality* will not give him their daughters; for he being to ſee them, whether he likes them or no, and they being to be turned off, if they pleaſe him not, no perſon of any *Quality* will ſhew his daughter, becauſe ſhe may be refuſed, after ſhe is ſeen; eſpecially by reaſon that the ſight and triall of them is to paſſe further then to what is ſeen in the outward frontiſpiece. They do not, nor may not marry with their kindred, though in never ſo remote a degree: and therefore there is ſought through the whole Kingdom a Damſell of twelve or fourteen years of age, of a perfect beauty, of good naturall parts, and well inclined to thoſe vertues, which are required in a *Queen*, in the ſame manner, as in ancient times the *Shunamite* was ſought out for *David*, and *Eſther* for *Ahaſſuerus*: and this is done without exception of perſons: whence for the moſt part the *Queen* is the daughter of ſome *Artizan*.

When they have found out ſuch a one, as they looked for, they conſigne her to two ancient Matrons, who ſee that which all may not ſee; and if they finde no diſpleaſing marke, or deformity about her body, they make her runne to put her in a ſweat, that they may examine, whether there be any unpleaſing ſmell from it: when theſe Matrons are ſatisfied with the diligence they have uſed, ſhe is brought to Court, with a great traine of women and men-ſervants, and with an equipage becoming a perſon, who from hence forward doth appertaine to the King: to whom ſhe is preſented in his Palace, who after he hath ended his complements, he giveth her to the Prince for a wife: and this is afterwards the true *Queen*. Within the Palace, they appoynt to waite on her vertuous women, of prudence, and underſtanding, that they may inſtruct her, as well in vertue, as in complements, and the ſtile of the Palace, endeavouring to breed her in ſuch manner, that ſhe may deſerve the name of a *Queen*, whom they commonly

commonly call *Que Mù*, that is, Mother of the Kingdom: And as their Hiſtories relate, there have been many of theſe of great worth and merit. They are very commonly devoute and charitable; and many of them have been prudent and vertuous.

Such was one of them, who being the daughter of a Maſon, after ſhe came to be *Queen*, ſhe kept always by her an Iron Trewell; and when the Prince her Sonne, upon any occaſion, behaved himſelfe more haughtily than became him, ſhe ſent to ſhew him that Inſtrument, with which his Grandfather uſed to lay ſtones for his living; by which means, ſhe reduced him to his *Devoir*. In old times when Kings took it in good part to be reproved for their errours, King *Tù* had a *Colao*, who at the Royall Audience would tel him his faults without any indulgence: One day, whether the King had given more cauſe, or that the exceſſe was on the *Colaos* part, the Audience being ended, the King returned into the Palace very much offended, ſaying, He would cut off the head of that impertinent fellow. The *Queen* asked him the cauſe of his diſpleaſure: the King anſwered, There is an unmannerly Clown, that never ceaſeth to tel me of my faults, and that publickly, I am reſolved to ſend one to take off his head. The *Queen* tooke no notice of it, but retired to her Appartment, and put on a particular garment proper only for feaſtivalls, and viſits, and in this habit ſhe came to the King, who wondring at it, asked her the cauſe of this *Novelty*. The *Queen* anſwered, Sir, I come to wiſh your Majeſty much joy: Of what, replied the King. That you have a ſubject, ſaid ſhe, that feareth not to tell you your faults, to your face, ſeeing that a ſubjects confidence, in ſpeaking ſo boldly, muſt needs be founded upon the opinion he hath of the vertue and greatneſſe of his Princes minde, that can endure to hear him. There have been many other like to this *Queen*.

The kindred of the Maiden are preſently exalted to honours and employments: The family is already accounted, rich and honourable; and by how much more the *Queen* gaineth favour within, they without are ſo much the more advanced.

The reſt of the Kings Sonnes are married after the ſame manner: only they do not uſe ſo much diligence, and caution in finding out the bride, but for the moſt part ſhe is ſought for, and found in the Court it ſelfe. But the manner of marrying the daughters is very different. There are twelve young men ſought out of the age of 17 or 18 years, the luſtieſt and the handſomeſt they can finde; theſe are brought into the Palace to a place, where the Princeſſe may ſee them, and not be ſeen; and when ſhe hath well conſidered them, ſhe ſelecteth two of them: Theſe are preſented to the King, who chuſeth which of them he liketh beſt, to be his Sonne-in-law.

Yamlie, the Grandfather of the preſent King, upon the like occaſion, ſeeing one of the two young men preſented to him, very well cloathed, and the other, though neat, yet poorly habited, asked him, what was the reaſon, he was not ſo well cloathed as the other. The youth anſwered, Sir, my father is poore, and cannot afford it me. Then replied the King, I will have you that are the pooreſt for my Sonne-in-law: and being thus choſen, he did afterward carry himſelfe worthy of commendations. And truly

truly a youth ought not to be ashamed of his povertie, nor a King for having chosen a poore man. The rest are sent home againe, but are accounted *Noble* ever after, for having had the honour to be admitted to that election.

Presently two *Mandarines* of the most considerable in the Court, are appoynted for Tutours unto these *Fum Ma*, so they call the Kings Sonne-in-laws, to instruct them in learning, manners, and Courtly behaviour *&c.* He is obliged every day to make the foure ordinary reverences upon his knees to his wife, till she hath brought him a child, assoone as she is delivered, this obligation ceaseth, although there are still a great many other constraints, and inconveniences upon them, which is the reason, that no man of *Qualitie* will be the Kings Sonne-in-law. For this reason the usuall custome of chusing twelve is now left off, and if the King do earnestly invite any person of *Qualitie*, or *Litterato* of reputation, to be his Sonne-in-law, (as it hath sometimes fallen out) he excuseth himselfe with all the skill and friends he hath, for if the *Princesse* take a dislike against her husband (as it often happeneth) she gives him affliction enough for all his life.

CHAP. 24.

Of the Nobilitie of China.

THe *Nobilitie* of *China* at this day is much changed from what it was anciently, when, by reason there were many Kings and Soveraigne Lords, they matched into one anothers families, and the Kings themselves, made many noble men, whom they used to employ, as also their neerest kinsmen, in charges and governments of the greateſt importance, and by this means their families continued on foot for many years. At this day the most of the *Nobilitie* have been raised by their learning, to the higheſt honours, from a low condition, many of them having been the Sonnes of *Artizans* and *Handicrafts-men*, as also, for want of learning, their families decline and grow againe into povertie, so that it is a rare thing to see a family last to the fift generation: for as the first beginners, being forced by necessitie, and stirred up by a desire to advance themselves, study and take paines to obtaine their degrees, and consequently Governments and other Preheminences; So the rest, who follow, and are borne rich, and bred up in delights, and wantonnesse, suffer themselves to be carried away with the pleasures of living high, and the vices which accompany it, study little, and spend much, so that in a short time, they finde themselves reduced to the first condition of their Ancestours. Notwithstanding, there is some shadow and resemblance left of the ancient *Nobilitie*, and it may be reduced to five orders, not mentioning those common people, who are of no account.

The *first Nobilitie* is of the *King*, *Prince*, the *Kings Children*, and the *Royall family*, which is preserved in this manner. The *Prince* succeedeth his father in manner above-said,

To his *Younger Sonnes* the King aſſigneth a habitation, out of the Court, in ſuch a Province or City as ſhall ſeem beſt to him, with *Palaces*, Furniture, and Servants ſuitable to his high qualitie; and lands and revenues, which he purchaſeth for him in the ſame place; as alſo a competent penſion out of the Kings exchequer.

He that dwelt in the Province of *Xenſi*, where I lived, for ſometime, had, as I was informed, 360000 Crownes *per annum*, and the title of a King conferred on him; and all the Officers of the Province were obliged to pay him reſpect ſuitable to his Title: whence every firſt and fifteenth day of the Moone they went to do him reverence in like manner, as is done at Court to the King; there being nothing wanting to him to make him an abſolute King, but only Authority and Juriſdiction; of which he had nothing at all, neither over the people, nor in the government; the King reſerving all that to himſelfe; neither hath he libertie to go out of the City and Territorie, where he hath his reſidence.

The *Eldeſt Sonne* ſucceedeth his Father in his eſtate and goods; the reſt marry and make ſeverall Families, which ſtil grow leſſer, although they be great; and the King giveth them an allowance competent for them; and as they are removed ſtill to a further degree from the Kings bloud, ſo likewiſe their penſion diminiſheth, till it cometh to foureſcore Crowns a yeare, and there it ſtoppeth; there being none ſo remote from the *Royall Stemme*, that hath not, at the leaſt, this Revenue. Yet nevertheleſſe, all this is to be underſtood only, if thoſe that are deſcended from him, have certaine conditions, that are required of them; for if theſe be wanting, they have nothing given them at all.

The *Firſt condition* is, that they be Males; for if they be *Females*, there is no account made of them, and the Father marrieth them to whom, and when he will; but not to Princes of the bloud; (neither may the Sonnes marry, but with Women of other Families) and he is to marry them at his own expences.

The *Second condition* is, that the Sonne be *lawfully begotten* on the true wife; not only baſtards being excluded, but alſo the Sonnes of their concubines, if they have any.

The *Third* is, that aſſoon as his Sonne is borne, he do give a memorial to the King, to give him a name, which is to be regiſtred in the roll.

The *Fourth* is, that having attained the age of 14 yeares, he give another memoriall to the King, praying him to give order, that he may receive halfe his penſion, which he after receiveth every year at ſet times.

The *Fifth*, that when he cometh to age to be married, there be another memoriall given to the King, wherein is required leave for him to marry, and then he receiveth the whole penſion which is aſſigned him.

Theſe are the *Princes* of the *Bloud*, deſcended from the King by a right *male line*. Theſe are not to live in the two Courts of *Pekim* and *Nankim*, nor in all the Provinces indifferently, but only in ſome certaine places; and are ſo numerous, that they are beleeved to amount to 60000 and are all maintained by the King. But they have this advantage, that they may help themſelves by their induſtrie, in buying and ſelling, and playing the Merchants.

For

For the government of them; and to preſent their memorialls to the King; to decide their controveſies; and to puniſh them, if there be cauſe, they have a particular *Mandarine*, that is proper to them. But if they have any ſuits with others, who are not of the bloud Royall, ſuch cauſes are under the cognizance of the ordinary juſtice, who may reprove them, but hath not the power to puniſh them; but if any of them commit any notable diſorder, he giveth notice thereof to the King, who for ſuch occaſions hath a Caſtle in the Province of *Kiamſi*, encompaſſed with a very high wall, whither he confineth them during life.

The *Second Order* of *Nobilitie* is of the *Titulati*, or Noblemen that have Titles conferred upon them: who notwithſtanding are but the ſhadow of what they were in former times. Theſe are divided into foure orders. The *Firſt* they call *Quecum*, a new Title, and are only foure Families, who were raiſed by the King *Humvu*, and are deſcended from foure valiant Captaines, who ſerved the ſaid King againſt the *Tartars*. They are, as it were, Dukes and Captaines-Generall of the *Militia*, and do aſſiſt in that *Qualitie*, at certaine military actions of great importance, when they are done in the Cities where they inhabit; but they never go to the war. The *Second* are *Heus*. The *Third Pe*. The *Fourth Chi Ho Ei*, all ancient Titles. They have Offices in the *Militia*, and a competent revenue, and all of them ſucceed their Fathers in their power, authority, and command. They give place to many Officers of the *Litterati*: but, at an aſſembly in the Royall Hall, they precede all of them.

The *Third Order* containeth all them, who either have or doe adminiſter in the Government of the Kingdome, whether they be officers of warre, as *Generalls* or *Captaines*, or of the *Politick* and *Civill Government*; whether they be ſupream, ſuch as are the *Colai*, or inferiour Miniſters, as well the *Mandarines* of other Cities, as thoſe of the Court, even to thoſe of the ſmalleſt Burghs and Villages: neither are they excluded from this order, who neither Govern, nor have governed, but are in Election to be received into the Government; ſuch are all *Graduates*, as *Doctours*, *Licentiates* and *Batchelours*. In a word, this order conſiſteth of *Litterati*.

The *Fourth* is of *Students*, who, although they have never taken any degree, yet only for being *Students*, and that they are in a way to obtain them, are put into the rank of the *Nobilitie*, and treated as ſuch, although they have no priviledge or authoritie.

The *Fifth* is of thoſe Perſons, whom they call *Netti*, or cleanly men, who live either of their Rents or Merchandize: and when their wealth is much, their honour is not little: and although without learning their power and credit is not ſo great as among us; yet they are much reſpected by the people.

CHAP. 25.

Of the Government of China, *and of the Officers.*

THe principall Government of *China*, which embraceth the ſtate of the whole *Monarchie* is divided into *ſix Councels*, called by them *Pú*. Theſe do not only governe in the two Courts where they do reſide, but from theſe, as from the firſt movers, the reſt of the government dependeth: and to theſe perſons, cauſes, and matters, according as appertaineth unto each, all is ſubordinate, with an incredible dependance and obedience.

Every one of theſe *Councels* hath its *Preſident*, whom they call *Cham Xu*, with two Aſſiſtants, one of the left hand, who is the firſt, called *Co Xi Lam*; the other of the Right, named *Geu Xi Lam*. Theſe are the chiefeſt and moſt profitable offices of the whole Kingdom, except the *Colai*, of whom we will ſpeak hereafter: ſo that when a *Vice-roy* of any Province, even of the moſt principall, after he hath given good Teſtimonie of his abilitie, is to be preferred, he holdeth himſelf well provided for, not only if he be made *Preſident* of one of theſe *Councels*, but alſo if he come to be one of the *Aſſeſſours* or *Aſſiſtants*, either of the left hand, or the right.

Beſides theſe, who are the chiefeſt of the *Councell*, there are ten others of the ſame *Tribunall*, almoſt all equall in dignitie, who are diſtributed into ſeverall offices and employments. To theſe are added other great and leſſer officers, as *Notaries*, *Scribes*, *Secretaries*, *Miniſters*, *Captaines* of *Juſtice*, and many others, who are not uſuall among us in *Europe*.

The *Firſt* and *chiefeſt Councell*, which is of the greateſt authoritie and profit, is the *Councell of State*, called *Si Pu*. To them it belongeth to propoſe the Mandates of the whole Kingdome, concerning Officers, to change and promote them: for after any one hath been once provided of an Office, he alwaies riſeth by degrees to greater employments: nor are they ever excluded from the Government, unleſſe it be for ſome notable fault committed either by themſelves, or by ſuch as appertaine to them, as their Sons, neere kindred, and the like. To this *Tribunall* alſo belongeth the power to reſtore againe any that is turned out of his office: as, if a *Mandarine*, by ſome accident, loſe his office, they can eaſily put him in again: and upon this account they have very many, and very great bribes given them.

The *Second* is the *Councell of Warre*, called *Pim Pú*. This alſo, as well as the *Councell of State*, hath authoritie over all the Magiſtrates of the *Litterati*, as alſo over the officers of warre, and taketh cognizance of all affaires belonging to the *Militia*, and is of great profit.

The *Third* is the *Councell of Rites*, named *Lim Pú*. This, although it hath not ſo great command, nor bringeth ſo much profit, is notwithſtanding more conſiderable, becauſe the *Mandarines* thereof are of the *Royall Colledge*, and are from hence preferred to be *Colai*, which is the chiefeſt dignity

dignitie in *China*. To this *Colledge* doth appertaine all affaires concerning *Letters*, *Temples*, *Ceremonies*, *Sacrifices*, the *Bonzi*, *Strangers*, *Embassadours*, and such like things.

The *fourth* is the *Councell of the Kings Patrimony*, called *Hu Pù*, it taketh care of the Kings Revenues, Taxes, Impositions, Gabells, Excise, Tribute, and generally whatsoever concerneth the Kings *Domaine*.

The *fift* is called *Cum Pù*, it is super-intendent over all publick works, particularly the Kings buildings, as those of the *Palaces* that are made for the Kings children, for the Officers; over Walls, Gates, Bridges, Cawsewaies, cleansing of Rivers, and whatsoever belongeth to the Ships and Barkes, as well for the service of the King and the publique, as for the Armadoes,

The *sixt* hath the care of all Criminall matters, and to inflict punishments: it is called *Him Pù*, and is Judge of the highest Criminall matters, and other things appertaining thereto.

Besides these *six Councells*, which are the most principall of the Court, there are other *nine Tribunalls*, called *Kicù Kim*, with severall offices which do particularly belong to the Kings houshold.

The *first* is called *Thai Lisù*, as one would say, The *great reason*: it is, as it were, the great Chancery of the Kingdom. They examine, as being the last appeale, the judgements and sentences of the Tribunalls of the Court; and thither are brought all facts of great moment. It consisteth of thirteen *Mandarines*, that is, *one President*, *two Collaterals*, and *ten Counsellours*.

The *second* is called *Quan Lo Su*, and is as it were, *High Steward* of the Kings houshold, to whose charge it belongeth to provide the diet, for the *King*, the *Queen*, the *Ladies*, the *Eunuchs*, and to have the laying out of the whole expence of the *Palace*; to pay the *Salaries* to the *Officers* of the *Court*, and to all those that come thither upon publick businesse; to Embassadours, which come from other Countries, and other such like Persons. It hath a *President*, *two Assessors*, and *seaven Counsellours*.

The *third* is *Thai Po Cu Sù*, and is, as it were, *Chiefe Master of the horse* to the King, and they have not only the charge of all Horses for the Kings service, but of all that belong to the Posts, and generally of all others, which belong to the publick service of the Kingdom. It hath a *President*, and *seaven Counsellours*.

The *fourth* is, as it were, *Master of the Ceremonies and complements of the Court*. It belongeth to them to assist at all the *Ceremonies* of the publick Actions of the King, at feastivalls, and other times and occasions which present themselves, and also at the daily *Ceremonies*, which are performed in the *Palace*, by those that come in, or out, as is abovesaid, It hath a *President*, *two Assessors*, and *seaven Counsellours*.

The *fift* is of *Rites* in more particular matters, and in that it is different from the first, but it hath the same forme with its *Assessors*. It taketh care of the sacrifices, of the Royall sepulchres, of Mountaines, Groves, and all that belong to them, as Singers, Instruments, living creatures for sacrifice, *&c.*

Moreover, *China* hath another *Tribunall*, which hath only charge of the *Memorialls*, which are presented to the King, and is, as it were, a *Chancery* of

of Requeſts; ſo that ſuch petitions, as are not approved of by them, are never given the King. This *Tribunall* was the occaſion, in the time of the perſecution of the Chriſtians 1616, that when we would have given an account of the law, which we preached, and of the things which were imputed to us, our *Memoriall* could never paſſe, it being ſtill rejected by them.

There are other three in the ſame form, with ſeverall charges & offices. Beſide the aboveſaid *Tribunalls*, there are two more, one called *Quoli*, the other *Tauli*: theſe, although they have their eye upon ſeverall Provinces, each upon thoſe matters which appertaine to them; nevertheleſſe their proper occupation and principall office is, to take notice of the errours and diſorders of the Kingdom, and to advertiſe the King of his own failings, if he hath any, as alſo of the faults of the *Mandarines* and their Government: and as it was never hard for any to tell the faults of others, yet theſe have a particular Talent in it, and doe it with great liberty, though many times with little Juſtice.

Their manner is to frame a *Memoriall*, and preſent it to the King (for thoſe of theſe two *Tribunalls* do not paſſe through the Chancery of *Memorialls*) and then preſently, (as they call it, *Fà'C Heo* that is,) to tranſſcribe it, and ſo to ſend a copy of it to the Notaries, whereof there are many deſtined for this worke. Theſe write many copies of it, which are ſent by the next poſts, from the Court to be diſperſed through the whole Kingdom: and by this means it is preſently known every where, by whom, and againſt whom, this *Memoriall* is preſented, & the miſdeeds contained therein, of what qualitie ſoever they be. Aſſoone as this *Memorial*, which they call *Puen*, is publiſhed, preſently the Magiſtrate, or other perſon, againſt whom it is framed, is obliged to do *two things*, whether it be with, or againſt his will, (which is more ordinary.) The *firſt* is, that he give in a *Memorial*, not in his own defence, (for to excuſe himſelf were to ſhew little humility,) but he muſt ſay therein, that the *Tauli* hath great reaſon; that he hath committed a great errour, and is in fault, and doth deſerve to have a penance laid upon him, and that with all ſubjection, he will ſubmit to any puniſhment, that ſhall be impoſed. The *ſecond* is, that he preſently retire himſelfe, and leave the *Tribunal*, and ſo all Acts of Juſtice are ſuſpended, ſo that he neither giveth audience, nor endeth any ſuite, untill the King have anſwered his petition, and declared his pleaſure thereon; the which is ſometimes in his favour, and then he continueth his office; and ſometimes againſt him, more or leſſe, according to the quality of his fault. There is no doubt, if this way were executed with reaſon and good conſcience, but that it would be much in favour of Juſtice, and the good Government of the Common-wealth; as on the contrary ſide, it is an open gate to many cauſeleſſe troubles and diſgraces. It falleth out many times, that a *Mandarine* in performing his office, and acquitting himſelfe of the duty of his place, doth make himſelfe many enemies. Some one of theſe, if he be a perſon that hath intereſt with any that is an Officer of thoſe *two Tribunals*, as kinſman, friend, *&c.* he giveth account of it to the Court, the *Memoriall* flyeth abroad, and God help the poore *Mandarine*. When they are leſſer *Mandarines*, as *Judges*, *Aſſiſtants to Governours*,

or

or *Mandarines in Armes*; at one blow, they lay him flat on the ground. If they be great *Mandarines*, there is more difficulty: but if they know, how to finde a hole in their coates, and the *Tauli* and *Quoli* get him in their clawes, they never give them over, till they have un-horsed them, so that the King himselfe is hardly able to save them.

The like accident happened to that Tyrant *Xin*, who in the year 1626 (being *Xi cam* in *Nankim*) raised a persecution against the Christians, and caused the fathers to be banished, as shall be related in its proper place. He arrived afterwards to the dignity of a *Colao*; and caused foure ensignes to be hanged out at the 4 corners of his *Palace*, (I was then present in the same City that is in *Hamcheu*) and made other demonstrations of extraordinary joy. But whether it were, that the Lord would chastise him for the persecutions he raised against his elect, or whether he deserved punishment for any other particular crimes according to humane laws, or for both together, assoone as his orders were come, and before he was departed to go to Court, there was so terrible a *Memoriall* put in against him, that a *Christian Mandarine* told me, it would not be possible for him to hold up his head: and so he was presently glad to take in his *Standard*, and depart with ordinary *Ceremonies*. He was notwithstanding a politike crafty man, and had purchased with his mony in the *Palace*, the good will both of the *Ladies* and the *Eunuchs*, who are not wont to sell their favours at a low rate. These did not only cause a *Memoriall* to be dispatched in his favour, but used means for him to be sent for to Court. At length he went, but after a few months there was another *Memoriall* given in against him, and after that severall others, to the number of twenty seven; and the crimes laid to his charge were such, that the King could not help him, so that he was forced to quit his Government, and retire to his house.

Beside these *two Tribunals*, there is another which is superiour to all the rest, and is the supreame dignity of the Kingdom; to which none do arrive, but those of the *Royall Colledge*, called *Han Lin*, after they have Governed a long time, and given such testimony of their *abilitie* and *integritie*, that never any *Memoriall* was given in against them. They are called by the name of *Colao*, they are commonly but *foure*, and may never exceed the number of *six*.

The old King (Grandfather to him that reigneth at present) never made but one of them at a time; saying, That more were superfluous. These have no particular office, but have an eye over the Government of the whole Kingdome. We may not unfitly call them the *supreame Presidents* of all the *Counsells*, and of the whole Government, although they are never present at them, but assist the King at all dispatches of affaires; and now that the King doth not use to be present there himselfe, they alwayes assist in the Palace, to receive and answer all businesse, and the *Memorialls*, which are every day given in. These report them to the King, who pronounceth the last sentence upon them. These *Colai* are very much respected by all the *Magistrates*, and at set times they do them reverence as to their superiours, in a publick Hall. The *Colai* stand up, and all the Officers of the Court passe before them in their order; and when they come right over against them, they turne towards them, and make them a profound

Reverence

Reverence to the very ground. They call this *Ceremony Quo Tham*, that is, To paſſe the Hall. Their enſignes, or badges of honour, are different from thoſe of the reſt, and their girdle, which they call *Yù Xe*, is richly ſet with precious ſtones. They only are allowed to weare it, and it is given them by the King, as in *Europe* Kings doe uſe to give *Collars* of their orders to their knights. And when they are ſick, it is only to theſe, that the King ſendeth to viſit them with *Regaloes* and dainties from the *Palace*, and they do ſufficiently gratifie the *Eunuch* that brings them, for the leaſt they give him is fifty crownes, which is more in that Country, than 200 here.

Beſide theſe ſupreame and generall Governours at the Court, who do not only govern that, but the whole Kingdom alſo, there are likewiſe particular and ordinary Governours and Judges of every City, and theſe obſerve the ſame manner of Government as well in the Cities and Townes of the other Provinces, as alſo in thoſe of *Pekim* and *Nankim*, where the two Courts are, as ſhall be related hereafter.

CHAP. 26.

Of the Government of the thirteen Provinces.

WE have formerly ſpoken of the univerſall Government of the whole Kingdome, which reſideth in the two *Courts*, it followeth now, that we ſhould ſpeak of the particular Government of the *Provinces*, every one whereof is a large Kingdom. This Government reſideth ordinarily in the *Metropolis* or chiefe City of each *Province*. In each of theſe there are *five Tribunalls*, that have a generall command over the whole *Province*, and diſtinct offices among themſelves. Of theſe five, two are ſupreame, to which all others, both of the Cities and Townes, are ſubordinate: But they among themſelves are not ſubjected one to the other, but are immediatly ſubbordinate to the King and the *Royall Tribunalls*. Theſe conſiſt of one *Preſident*, or Iudge, without any Aſſiſtant or Councellour, although they have many other Officers.

The *firſt* of theſe two is the *Vice-roy* of the *Province*, whom they call *Tut Ham*, or *Kiun Muen*. He hath power over all the Magiſtrates, and people of the *Province*. He Governeth for three years, and hath conſtant Poſts, that come & go from the Court at ſet times, being to give account of whatſoever paſſeth in the *Province*. He is received into the City in great pompe and ſtate. When he is ready to depart the Court, many of the Officers of his *Tribunal* go thither, to receive him, others meet him a good part of the way, where from City to City he is honourably accompanied both by horſe and foot: And three miles before he cometh to the City, where he is to reſide, there go out certaine Captaines with 3000 Souldiers to receive him, after theſe follow the Magiſtrates, and after them an innumerable company of people.

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The *Second Office*, which is alſo abſolute, is called *Cha Jven*, we have no Office in *Europe*, that is anſwerable to it: he is, as it were, *Viſitour* of the *Province*. It laſteth only a yeare, it is of great rigour and much feared. He hath authority to take *Cognizans* of all cauſes both *Criminall* and civill; of the *Militia*; of the *Kings Patrimonie*; in a word, of all. He viſiteth, enquireth, and informeth himſelf of all, even to the *Vice-roy* himſelf: the inferiour *Mandarines* and Judges he may puniſh, or turne them out of their places. Concerning the greater *Mandarines*, if there be cauſe, he is to give in *Memorialls*, and they are from thence forward ſuſpended from the function of their Offices, till the Kings anſwer come from Court.

To him it belongeth to cauſe the ſentences of Death, given through the whole *Province*, to be put in execution, in order to which he aſſigneth the day and the City, whither all thoſe that are condemned, ſhall be brought to him: and there he is preſented with a Liſt of their names; then taking his penſill, he marketh ſix or ſeaven of them, (for if he prick more they count him cruell) theſe are preſently carried to execution, and the reſt returned to the priſons whence they came. It belongeth alſo to him to viſit the Wals, Caſtles, and publick places &c. He ſetteth forth with a great traine and pomp, having banners carried before him and other Enſignes of Rigour and Majeſtie. This is uſually every year.

There is another extraordinarie Officer of the ſame name. He is created from time to time at the Queens requeſt: he hath great power and authoritie, but it is only in favour of Piety and Mercy: he viſiteth all the Priſons of the Province, and freeth all ſuch as are impriſoned for light faults, and that have no proſecutours, and all thoſe miſerable wretches, that have no meanes to free themſelves: he taketh into protection ſuch cauſes as have been rejected, and parties that could obtaine no favour: he revoketh ſuch ſentences, as have been unjuſtly given: he maketh himſelfe Protectour of the poore, and in a word, his whole authoritie is employed about works of mercy.

The *Third Office* is the *Treaſurer*, who is ſuperintendent of the Kings Patrimonie through the whole *Province*. He is ſubordinate to the Councell of the Patrimonie at Court. He hath *two Aſſiſtants*, one of the right hand, and the other of the left: each of theſe have their houſe and *Tribunall* within the circuit of the *Treaſurers Palace*. He hath under him 26 leſſer *Mandarines*, that have ſeverall charges and employments, beſides other Officers great and ſmall, of which ſort there are very many belonging to this *Tribunall*.

To him it belongeth to overlooke the cuſtomes, exciſe, and other duties appertaining to the King, of what kind ſoever: to regulate all weights and meaſures, all ſuites, controverſies, puniſhments and ſentences appertaining to the Kings Patrimonie, or at leaſt to remit them to what *Tribunall* he pleaſeth: to pay the ordinarie ſalaries, to all Magiſtrates, to the Kings kindred, to the Captaines and Souldiers: to provide all expences for the examinations: to furniſh and give the badges of honour to all Graduates: to lay out money for the publick workes, as Bridges, Highwayes, *Palaces* of the *Mandarines*, Ships for the Navy &c. In a word, he is ſuperintendent of whatſoever is ſpent or received of the Kings

Revenue immediatly from the Governours, Iudges and *Tauli*, each for his own precinct; and though the ſumme be never ſo ſmall, they muſt alwayes be paid in fine Silver, which is afterwards melted by the *Treaſurer* into *Ingots*, weighing fifty Crownes a piece, with the Kings ſtamp and the Founders name upon them, that in caſe any of them be falſified, they might know whom to accuſe; and in this forme they are returned into the King s Exchequer.

The Revenue of the *Province* is divided into three parts: one whereof is put into the Treaſure of the City, for extraordinary expenſes; the other into the Coffers of the *Treaſurer*, for to defray ordinarie expences. This *Treaſurie*, beſide that the doores and locks are made as ſecure as can be, yet it is guarded every night by a conſtant watch of Souldiers. The third is ſent publickely to Court, but with a ſtrong Guard.

This Silver is put into round pieces of wood, ſawed through in the middle and hollowed within, and joyned together with Iron hoops and both ends cloſed faſt with plates of Iron. Within every one of theſe pieces of wood is conveighed as much Silver as two men are able to carrie. The revenue of the whole Kingdome (according to the ſupputation of Father *Matteo Riccius*, who lived many yeares in *China*, as appeareth by his book printed in the year 1621) is ſaid to amount to an hundred and fifty *Millions* of *Crownes*. Father *John Rodriquez*, who alſo travailed much about *China*, and was very curious to know the affaires of this Kingdome, in a writing which he left behind him concerning the foure notable things of *China*, ſaith; That it doth amount but to fifty five *Millions*. To make them both agree, my opinion is, that the whole Revenue is a hundred and fifty Millions, as *Father Riccius* ſaid; & that which is brought to Court is but fifty five, as Father *Rodriquez* would have it; the reſt remaining, as hath been ſaid, in the *Provinces*. As I have not made any diligent enquiry concerning this matter, ſo I will forbeare to add any thing to the Teſtimonie of theſe grave *Perſonages*.

The *Fourth Tribunal* is called *Gan Cha Sci*, and is, as it were, a *Tribunal Criminal*; it hath *Aſſeſſours*, *Councellours*, and *Tauli*. And, as every *Province* is divided into Shires, and Precincts, according to the number of the Cities thereof, it belongeth to theſe *Tauli* to viſit them, and to do juſtice in the ſeveral places aſſigned them; puniſhing Malefactours, and exerciſing their juriſdiction, which extendeth it ſelfe even to the Souldierie, and the affaires of the Sea, if the Province be maritime.

The *Fifth Tribunall* is over learning and letters, to examine, and confer degrees, and the like, and is particularly ſet over all them that have taken the degree of *Batcheller*; but *Doctors* are exempt from their *Juriſdiction*. There is a *Chancellour* over the whole *Province*, who, at ſet times, viſiteth all the Cities and Townes, holding examinations, and informing himſelf of every ones behaviour; and according as he findeth it, he reproveth, chaſtiſeth, and ſometimes depriveth them of their degree, but leaving them alwayes the libertie, as I have ſaid, of returning, (if they pleaſe,) to a new examination.

There are moreover in every City two, whom they call *Mandarines* of the *Sciences*, *Hioquan*; who belong to the ſame *Tribunall*: but their *Juriſdiction* doth not extend it ſelf further than to the *Batchelers* of the ſame City,

City, and the territorie thereof. And although they have not the power to conferre a degree, or to take it away, but only to puniſh them; nevertheleſſe it is they that give them the moſt trouble, by reaſon, that living alwayes in the ſame City, they often call them before them, examine them, &c. They are, as it were, Prefects of the Claſſes.

All theſe offices whereof I have ſpoken, have authoritie over the whole *Province*, and over all the Cities, Villages and Townes thereof.

But the Cities have moreover their particular Government, as among us in *Europe*. In every City there are foure principall *Mandarines*, one whereof is Preſident, whom they call *Chi Fu*, and is, as it were, Governour of the City: the reſt are Collateralls, they are called *Thum Chi*, *Thum Phuon*, *Chiu Quon*. Every one of theſe holdeth his *Tribunal* apart, and hath greater and leſſer officers belonging to him.

Beſide theſe, every City hath nineteen leſſer Magiſtrates employed in ſeverall Offices ſubordinate to the principall. Two whereof have a *Preſident* and foure *Councellours*, the nine others have only one *Preſident* and an *Aſſiſtant*, and the other eight have only one *Preſident*, but they have all of them their Officers, Miniſters, and a convenient number of Servants belonging to their Courts.

The Villages have a Judge and three Councellours. The Judge is called *Chi Hien*. The Firſt Councellour *Hum Chim*. The Second *Chu Phu*. The Third *Tun Su*. They have each of them their *Palaces* and *Tribunals* apart, as alſo their ſubordinate Officers, Notaries and others. The Judge may give ſentence of death, but cannot put it in execution.

Beſides theſe *Mandarines*, which reſide in the Cities and Villages, there are others, who have not the power either to Chaſtiſe or condemn, but only to make their report, and are, as it were, *Referendaries*. There are alſo of them in Caſtles, if they be great, and farre from any City or Village: theſe are made ordinarily out of the inferiour Notaries of *Tribunals*, for out of the great ones are commonly made the Councellours to the Judges of Villages.

But it muſt be obſerved, that both the greater and the leſſer officers have not ſo much authoritie, as ours in *Europe*. Beſides, every Hamlet (whereof there are almoſt Infinite in *China*, no labourer, or husbandman dwelling either in City or Village, but in the Fields) hath a Head or Thithing-man called *Licham*. The houſes are divided by tens, like Tithings or *Decuries*, with a Head or Tithing-man belonging to each, by which meanes the Government becometh more eaſie, and the contribution which is exacted, more certaine.

CHAP. 27.

Of the Badges of Honour, or Enſignes of the Mandarines.

ALl Officers, who either have, or have had cõmand, have their Enſigns, by which they are diſtinguiſhed, not only from the people, but from others, as well *Litterati*, as Noblemen of another rank. Theſe conſiſt in five things, that is, the *Cap*, the *Habit*, the *Girdle*, the *Boots*, and the *Gown*. The *Cap* is of black Silk, lined with a certaine ſtiffe & ſtrong Stuffe. They all of them have it made after the ſame faſhion, only in the *Caps* of the *Colai* there is ſome difference, it is called in the *Chineſſe* language *Xamao*.

The *Habit*, (for ſo they call it, and we have nothing in *Europe* that anſwereth to it,) is a ſquare piece, which they wear on their breaſt, richly embroydered round about, in the middle wherof is the device of their Office and dignitie; and, as thoſe are diverſe, accordingly their devices are different. It is called *Phi Zu*. The *Magiſtrates* of letters have an *Eagle*, a *Hearn*, a *Bird of the Sunne*, or ſuch like: the *Magiſtrates* of armes, have a *Panther*, a *Tiger*, an *Unicorn*, a *Lyen* &c.

The *Girdle*, which is not made to Gird them withall, for it is ſo wide, that they are fain to faſten it at the ſides, to keep it from falling, is called *Quon Thai*; it is foure fingers broad, and divided into little ſquares; it is faſtened before (if the *Girdle* be rich) with large Buckles of Gold or Silver: ſome weare them nine inches broad. There are nine ſorts of Buckels, that is, of *Bufalo*, of *Rhinoceros* horne, of *Ivory*, of *Tortoiſe-ſhell*, of *Lignum Aquilæ*, of *Calamba*, of Silver, Gold, and precious ſtones. Every one may not wear them indifferently according to their Fancies, but ſuitable to the qualitie of the Office which he beareth. The laſt *Girdle*, which is of a precious ſtone, called *Yu Xe*, is given by the King himſelfe to the *Colai*, when they enter into their Office, nor is any other ſuffered to weare it.

The *Boots*, (which they call *Hive*,) are not ordinarie, but of a certaine particular make. They are all black, and turned down.

The *Veſt*, or *Gowne*, is worne over their ordinary habit, and is in all, of the ſame faſhion. It is large, looſe, and very becoming. The colour is at their own choiſe, but for the moſt part it is modeſt: but on Feaſtivall daies it is Crimſon.

Theſe are the Enſignes of the Magiſtrates, when ever they appear in publick: for at home they leave them off, and wear only the ordinarie habit of the *Litterati*: and in the ſame manner they go among their friends to Banquets, and places of recreation, eſpecially in hot weather. Their externall Enſignes, when they go abroad, are the Sedan, or Litter, inlaid with Ivory, and richly gilded, all open, without any cover at top, to the end they may be the better ſeen. There are ſome of them carried by two men, others by foure, others by ſix, and ſome by eight, according to the qualitie of the *Mandarine*. When there are ſix or eight men, only foure do carry the Sedan, the others go by on each ſide, and take

take their turnes. The traine which followeth after them is more or lesse according to the dignitie of the *Magistrate*: those of the greatest *Qualitie* cause two men to march before them at a great distance, with a round staffe in the hands of each, of something more than a mans length, only for terrour (for the king only may strike with a round staffe) and all the way they go, they make a cry. Then follow two men bearing two Tablets silvered over, whereon is written in great letters the Title of his dignitie, then come foure or six more, trayling after them cudgells made of a great tree called *Bambu*, wherewith they are wont in those Countries to give the *Bastinado* to Delinquents; then follow others with chaines in their hands, and other instruments of Torture. A little before the Sedan there marcheth one with an *Umbrella*, or Sun-skreen, and sometimes two; they are made of silke, and are as bigge as three of ours. Close by the Sedan on one side, is carried a great gilded fanne, so bigge that a man is hardly able to beare it, with which the Sun is kept off from him, for the *Umbrellas* serve only for shew and *Parade*. Immediatly before the Sedan is carried the Kings seale in a gilded Coffer, placed upon a *Machine*, (like to that which we use in our Countries, to carry the Images, and Reliques of Saints upon in procession) under a cloath of state borne up with foure small pillars. This is carried by two men. Behind the Sedan follow the Pages, and other people, both on horse and foot.

When he goeth through the street, if there be any thing unseemly at the windowes, as cloathes hanged out a drying, or such like things, presently they are taken in: if they meet with any Beers, or Hearses, such as the dead are carried to buriall withall, they overturne them to the ground: people of Qualitie turne downe some other street to avoyd meeting of them: they that are on horse back alight: they that are carried in chaires are set downe, & the people set themselves in ranke on both sides the way. If it be a great *Mandarine*, the multitude that stand looking upon him, keep a profound silence. In the meane while he sitteth in his chaire with so much gravity and composure of body, that he doth not so much as move his eyes: for to but looke on one side or other would in them be esteemed a notable fault.

When they make their first entrie into any City or Towne, besides the traine which is appoynted to accompany them, all the way they go, and the Souldiers which guard them, through the Townes and Cities where they passe, and the Officers of their owne *Tribunal*, who go many daies journyes off to receive them, and the Souldiers of his owne Government, who go out many miles to meet them, and all the inferiour *Mandarines*, who go out of the City to congratulate them; at the gates of the Towne or City, stand all the old men of that place in great number, with their reverend white beards, who on their knees bid him welcome in the name of the people.

The Mothers and wives of the Officers, as their Sonnes or Husbands are preferred and advanced to higher offices and dignities, are appointed by the King certaine honourable distinctions in their habit, as also Titles, whereby they are called; such as are among us, your Honour, and your Excellency; not, that they are the same, but that they have some resemblance more or lesse.

When

When any one of the moſt Eminent Officers die, the King ſendeth away poſt a *Mandarine* of the Court to ſolemnize his funeralls, and this not only to the confines of the Kingdom, but even out of it, as to the Iſland of *Hainam*, as it happened in the year 1617 at what time I ſpake with him who was ſent hether by the King, only for that purpoſe.

The King alſo, after his death, beſtoweth the office of a *Mandarine* upon his Sonne, or Nephew: and if the deceaſed perſon be a *Colao*, he beſtoweth the like honour upon all his Sonnes or Nephewes, who, if they give a good Teſtimony of their abilitie in their Government, are advanced yet higher, and come to be Governours of Cityes.

The *Palaces* where they inhabit are large, convenient, and ſtately, their *Tribunals*, where they do Juſtice, are magnificently adorned, and attended by great ſtore of Officers. In the City of *Nankim*, beſide many others, there are five *Tribunals*, foure of the foure windes, for ſo they call them, and they are accordingly placed in the City toward the *North*, toward the *South*, &c. The fift is in the middle of the City: yet are they inferiour *Tribunals*, for every one hath a *Preſident* and two *Collaterals*, and the *Preſident* is no more than a *Doctour*; and the two *Collaterals* are either ſimple *Batchelers*, or elſe raiſed from the office of Notarie. It is true that in ſmall and ordinary cauſes, theſe are the hands and feet of the *Mandarines*, being faithfull and diligent executers of whatſoever they command them. There are in every one of theſe *Tribunals* more than 300 men, who ſerve them, as Notaries, Clerks, and Serjeants, ſome to apprehend men, others to whip them, others to carry letters and writings, and ſuch other Commiſſions; but they do not ſerve all at one time, but take their turnes in order.

Now that I have treated of the ſmall *Tribunals*, I will ſpeak of a great one, which is that of the *Vice-roy* of *Cantone*, which, for ſome cauſes, I had occaſion to obſerve very diſtinctly, as alſo many others. The *Tribunal*, wherein the *Vice-roy* doth Juſtice, is joyned to the *Palace*, where he hath his reſidence.

There is firſt a great ſquare Court, which looketh toward the South, without having any gate in the wall right before it, but only two at the two ſides thereof. At the foure Corners of this Court there are foure very high Maſts, on the top of each is diſplayed a white banner, whereon are written two letters ſo bigge, that they almoſt take up the whole flagge. The letters are *Kiun Muen*, that is, *Vice-roy*. Within, round about the Court, are Chambers for the Notaries, for great and leſſer Officers, and many ſmall *Mandarines*, who are to be alwayes ready at the *Vice-roys* beck. In the middle of the Court is a Theater of ſtone, with ſteps to aſcend to it. There ſtand drums, flutes fifes and Cornets of Braſſe: and before the *Vice-King* giveth audience, all theſe inſtruments are ſounded with certain pauſes or Intervalls. They are ſounded three times for ſome ſpace, and at the end of each, there are three *Bombards*, or old faſhion'd Cannon, diſcharged; at the third and laſt time the gates are opened, & all they, who have any buſineſſe with him, are permitted to enter into the firſt Court.

On the North ſide whereof, which anſwereth to the front, where there is no Gate, there is, a great *Portal*, which leadeth into another quadrangu-

lar

lar Court, which is longer than it is broad. This *Portall* hath three gates in it, after the faſhion of our churches: that in the middle is the biggeſt, the other two are leſſer: each of theſe gates openeth upon an entry, which is raiſed three or foure palmes from the ground, and is ſeaven or eight palmes broad, but that in the middle is larger. At each entry ſtand two ranks of Souldiers with their armes in their hands: through the middle of whom thoſe that have buſineſſe are to paſſe, entring at the left gate, and coming out at the right; for at the middle gate, none either go in, or come out, but the *Vice-roy*, and they that viſit or accompany him. At the end of this Court is the place of the *Vice-roy*, which hath neither Hall, nor Gallery, but is a kind of building, that participateth of both. It is like a Hall for its forme, and like a Gallery, in that it hath no doore, but lyes all open. In it ſtandeth a ſmall Table covered with a Carpet of ſilke, whereupon lyeth the Kings ſeale, with red and black inke by it, and ſtones for to grind it ſmall, and penſills for to write withall; but above all, there is the Caſe of the *Cheu Cu*, that is, Little Tallies of wood, each of which importeth *five laſhes*: ſo that when the *Vice-roy* throweth downe two of them, in the languages of Juſtice, it ſignifieth *Ten laſhes*; if he throweth downe ſix, Thirty, and ſo of the reſt. Neere unto the ſeat of the *Vice-roy* on each hand ſtand twelve Captaines richly cloathed, with their *Morions* on their heads, and their Scimitars by their ſides. Behinde, ſtand two Pages with fannes in their hands to make winde, in caſe the weather be hot; but in winter they do not uſe them. All *Tribunals* are not of this forme; although there are many things common to them all, and the reſt is proportionable to the dignity of the *Mandarines* who hold them.

CHAP. 28.

Of the priſons, ſentences and puniſhments of the Chineſes.

THeir priſons for Malefactours are more commodious and ſpacious than ours. They are all, throughout the Kingdom, of the ſame forme, with very little difference; ſo that by treating of one, we ſhall give a deſcription of them all. They are for the moſt part either joyned, or not farre diſtant from the *Palaces* and *Tribunals* of the *Mandarines*, to which they belong. They have no grates towards the ſtreet; but within the outward gate there is a narrow entry, which leadeth to a ſecond gate, within which is a Court, which is alwaies bigger or leſſer according to the receipt and concourſe of the priſon. Then followeth a third gate, where the lodgings of the keepers and warders are, who are commonly three; beyond that is another gate, which openeth into a great ſquare Court, along the foure ſides whereof are the chambers of the priſoners, which have no walls towards the Court, but in ſtead thereof, Columnes of wood placed ſo neere together, that they rather ſeeme to be grates. The doores are not made of board, but of grates of the ſame wood, ſo that all is open to the ayre:

ayre: theſe Lodges or Chambers, are the Priſons of the ordinary Priſoners. At the end of one of theſe rowes of chambers, ſtandeth the ſecret, or cloſe Priſon, for ſuch as are committed for crimes of a higher nature. This they call *Chum Kien*, that is, the heavy Priſon: ſo that having paſſed through the common Priſon, there are other grates made in the like manner as the firſt, within which are the cloſe Priſons, where the moſt criminall Perſons are, who are alwayes kept locked up: the other Priſons are opened every day, and the Priſoners have liberty to go from one chamber to another, and to converſe together in the Baſe-Courts.

Every evening there is a view taken of the Priſoners, cauſing them all, for this purpoſe, to come into the outward Court, and one of the warders with a rol in his hand calleth them over one by one: each man as he is called, goeth into his priſon, where he is locked up for that night.

Thoſe of the cloſe Priſon, although they go not out of it, (which happeneth only to thoſe, who have no money, for if they have wherewithall to fee the Gaolers, they go out when they wil, and are lodged where they pleaſe.) Yet are they all day at libertie in their Priſon: but at night they are ſecured in this manner, They ſleep at night upon planks, at the lower end whereof, where their feet lie, there is a great piece of Timber laid athwart, which hath ſtore of holes in it, wherein their feet are put, and ſo locked up: on their hands they put manacles: on the ſide of each are two Iron rings faſtened into the Boards, through which is paſſed an Iron-Chaine of a good bigneſſe, and is carried over their breſts from the right ſide to the left, ſo that if this Chaine be ſtreightned a little (which is at the courteſie of the Keepers) the poor Priſoner is not able to turne himſelf, having not only his hands and feet, but his whole body bound. This is the caution which they uſe for the night.

In the middle of the Court where the aforeſaid chambers are, there is, as it were, a little corps d'e gard, where there are foure who keep watch by turnes. If there happen any noiſe, or ſtir, in the Priſons, or any thing which giveth ſuſpicion, although it be only the going out of the light, which is to bee kept burning all night long, preſently they give notice thereof to the Gaolers, who immediately come in haſt to take care of it.

They are viſited every moneth by one of thoſe *Mandarines*, who have the care of the Priſons commited to them. Aſſoon as he hath taken his ſeate in the outward Court, he cauſeth to be brought before him all thoſe who have been condemned to die. Thoſe wretches preſent themſelves before him with their haire hanging down and uncombed, a ſickly countenance, their head hanging on one ſide, & almoſt falling off; but aſſoon as they are remanded to the priſon, and have loſt the ſight of the *Mandarine*, they begin to skip, and are as ſound as a fiſh. The reaſon of this diſſimulation is, becauſe if the *Mandarine* find them fat and in good liking, he cauſeth them to be baſtinadoed, which they call *Tá Foiti*, that is, *to fall upon the fat ones*; ſaying, that they keep them there, to do penance, to grow leane and die, and not to make good cheere. The other Priſoners alſo are brought before him one by one, and the *Mandarine* enquireth of the Gaolers, how they behave themſelves, and accordingly he diſpenſeth his

his *Baſtinadoes*, to thoſe that are troubleſome, unquiet and *Gameſters*.

After that, he viſiteth the chambers of the Priſoners, where he ſuffereth them to have no manner of conveniencie, if he find either, Seats, Tables, Beds, or ſuch like things, he cauſeth them preſently to be taken away; for they will not have their Priſons to be as ours are, for the ſecuring only of their Perſons, but alſo to puniſh their bodies.

They who are committed to priſon, are not only ſubject to the impriſonment, but alſo to many contributions and paiments. The *Mandarines* have a tablet done over with a white varniſh, whereon is written the name and crime of the perſon apprehended, this is given to the officer, who having received it, carrieth him away preſently to Priſon, and maketh him pay for his journey, which fee they call *Tablet-money*. When he entreth the ſecond gate, commeth the Notarie Generall of the Priſoners, who is commonly one of them himſelf: he hath his Seate and Table (which is only that whereon the Priſoners eat) he asketh him his name and the cauſe of his impriſonment, which he preſently enrolleth in the book of Priſoners, making him pay for the honour which he receiveth in having his name entred. Next after that, he is delivered to the Gaolers and overſeers of the ſeverall chambers, or to ſome one of them, and if the Priſoners are many, they begin to diſtribute them to one another: if it be one man only, they bid him go to the chambers of the North, or of the South &c. and preſently the overſeer of that is to be paid his fee. Aſſoon as he is come to his quarter, there cometh to him another little ſcribe, whoſe office is only to take his name, and to write it in the particular Table of that warde, which alwaies hangeth up there; and here he is to pay another fee for this writing. After that cometh another, who is the ſweeper of the Priſon, and telleth him, Sir, Cleanlineſſe is very neceſſary here, this place is to be ſwept and kept cleane; your fire to be made &c. all which cannot be done without opening the purſe. In the mean while cometh one of the Priſoners with a pair of Iron Manacles, the ſtreighteſt he can find, which he putteth on upon him: about halfe an houre after he cometh again with another wider paire, and telleth him, Brother, I know thoſe Manacles are very ſtreight and painfull, I wil therefore change them for theſe wider, if you wil pay me for the courteſie; & if he hath no money to give him, he taketh his Cap, or elſe ſome part of his cloaths. Theſe are the ſmall charges, with which the poor Priſoners purſe is drained.

Then follow the Gaolers, who being to receive a greater fee, allow him longer time: for two daies after his impriſonment they let him alone, to ſee what he will give of his own accord, and if in that time he preſent them not with ſomething, for every night after, till they are ſatisfied they give him trouble and torment enough. This payment is not limited, but is at the diſcretion of the Gaolers, who endeavour to draw from every one as much as they can, that is, a great ſumme from thoſe who are rich, leſſe from the poor, and from thoſe that have nothing, they take nothing.

This duty is no ſooner ſatisfied, but the laſt Rights muſt be paid, that is for the ſacrifices of the Idol, or *Pagod* of the Priſon, for in every one of them there is a Chappel or two, where every month the Gaolers

lers offer Sacrifice on the firſt and fifteenth day of the Moon; which conſiſteth commonly of a Cock, a piece of Pork, two Fiſhes, Bread, Fruit, and other things. Theſe they ſeeth a little in water, and the Cock is to be boyled no more than that he may be made to ſtand upright upon a Table which is placed before the *Pagod*, where the other things are ſet in handſome order about him, and after it hath ſtood there an houre, they come and take it away; and dreſſe the Fiſh and Fleſh anew, ſeaſoning it very well, and then they make a *Banquet*.

The new Priſoners muſt contribute to furniſh this expence; they, who are admitted after this Sacrifice, till the next, which is fifteen daies after, furniſheth the expences of the next Sacrifice; and they that come after that, of the next, and then they are freed from paying.

Theſe Chappels dedicated to the Idols, do not only ſerve the Priſoners to make their Sacrifices there, but alſo for other more common uſes; that is, for the Priſoners to make their vows, to draw lots, although many times with an unfortunate event, for having libertie and a happie deliverance promiſed them by the lot, they receive afterward at the *Tribunals Baſtinadoes* and torments.

I was one day preſent when a poor heathen drew his lot, kneeling on his knees with much devotion, and becauſe he could not read, he called another to inſtruct him out of the little book, which is kept for that purpoſe in the Chappels: having drawn his lot, ſaith this poor man, well, what have I got? Shall I be tormented at the *Tribunall?* The other reading over the leafe cryed out, Be of good courage, all is well, you have a good lot. Shall I not have the *Rack* given me, replyed the poor wretch? Which was a kind of torment which he was much afraid of. Fear not, anſwered the Interpreter, you ſhall have no harme. That very morning this poor *Gentile* was brought to his Tryall, who in truth was innocent, the fact, for which he was committed, being done by his brother, who had received ſtollen goods into his houſe, and knowing that he was diſcovered, fled away; and ſo this poor wretch was apprehended in his ſtead. When he was examined, the *Mandarine*, not ſatisfied with his anſwers, commanded he ſhould have the *Rack* given him. He being loath to be carried away, made what reſiſtance he could, ſo that they were fain to drag him by main force, and being a ſtrong ſturdy young man, defended himſelfe with ſo much courage and violence, that ten or twelve men were not able to rule him, but tumbling up and downe from one ſide to another, and catching hold of whatſoever he came neer, he hit by chance againſt the *Mandarines* Table, and overturn'd it to the ground with all that was upon it, by which accident he did ſo anger the Judge, and enrage the Serjeants againſt him, that when they had ſeiſed him, they gave him the *Rack* in ſo cruel a manner, that they were faine to ſend him back to Priſon upon other mens Shoulders, having his heel-bones out of joynt. The next day, when his pain was ſomething mitigated, and he more capable of reaſon, I went to viſit him, much compaſſionating his ſufferings, he related to me all particulars of the ſtorie, and I began to touch upon that point of the lots and their interpretation, ſaying unto him, what hath your *Idol* done for you? *The Devil*, ſaid he, *take the Idol and his lots, for they are all ſuch*

as

as he is; and ſome other words, which are not proper to be related here.

The Priſoners do paſſe the ſummer well enough, but in winter, as the cold is very great, and the ſuſtenance of many very little, they muſt needs ſuffer much: and although the *Mandarines*, for the good of the poor Priſoners, do often commute Corporal puniſhments into *Pecuniary Mulcts*; yet when this is done, there is not enough for all. Thieves, when they are taken, are generally abandoned of their friends and kindred; neither is there any, who will own them, and ſo, many of them periſh miſerably. I have often ſeen ſix or ſeaven dead bodies thrown out at a time.

They have a notable *Superſtition* concerning the dead, which is, that they will not ſuffer the Body when it is dead, to be carried out at that Gate whereat it entred when it was living. And to take away this difficultie, in the outward Court, whereof we have ſpoken, there is a little doore, or hole in the wall, where they are thrown out; if it be a perſon of qualitie, there is alwayes leave obtained for him to go out of Priſon before he dieth, that he might not have his Carcaſſe thrown out at that hole, accounting it the moſt ſhamefull diſgrace that can befall them. Hence one of the moſt horrible imprecations and curſes that is uſed in that Kingdome is, *La Laoti*, that is, *maiſt thou be dragd through the hole of a Priſon.*

The *Priſons*, having no grate on the outſide of them, they, who would viſit or ſpeak with any Priſoner, muſt of neceſſitie enter into the Priſon; and there is this inviolable cuſtome among them, that none is to viſit a Priſoner without bringing him ſomething to eate, more or leſſe according to his ability, and if by accident he bringeth nothing, he maketh his excuſe for having broken a cuſtome ſo generally received. But perhaps ſome will ask me how I came to be ſo expert in theſe poynts? Truly I muſt anſwer him in a word, that though this knowledge be not much worth, yet it coſt me very deare.

Their trialls differ very little from ours, but only that the delaies and the replies are not ſo many: every thing is done by way of *Petitions* or *Memorialls*, and in theſe every one is allowed to ſay what he can for himſelf. There are ſome who get their living only by drawing up ſuch writings as theſe for Priſoners; but we do not admit them to the Sacrament of Baptiſm, unleſſe they leave this employment: for they tel ſo many lies in them, that the *Mandarines* had need of a great deal of experience, and diſcretion to find out any truth amongſt ſo many falſhoods: but ſomtimes, when they are taken in them, they are well paid for them in *Baſtinadoes*.

The *Vice-roy* of *Nankim*, who was a great friend to our Fathers, and, though a heathen, was well affected to the Chriſtian religion, and well acquainted with the doctrine of it, told me one day this ſtory, As I was giving audience, ſaid he, at my *Tribunal*, and hearing of cauſes, there was one, who among others, preſented me a *Memoriall*, I tooke it and read it, and found it full of nothing but revilings and Slanders againſt the *Chriſtian Religion*, and the *Chriſtian Chineſſes* of that City, ſpeaking ſufficiently ill of both. I asked him then, Do you underſtand this law, and do you know this people? Yes Sir, anſwered he, It is an upſtart, perverſe, ſtrange law, *&c.* Speaking yet more evill of it than he had written in his *Memoriall.* I preſently put my hand to my *Tallies*, and flung out ſix, the

Officers preſently gave him thirty *Baſtinadoes* (and thoſe which are given at theſe *Tribunals*, are commonly well ſet on) aſſoone as he had gotten up upon his legges, and had a little compoſed himſelfe, I told him, that I ſaw his petition was not well enough digeſted for a buſineſſe of ſo great moment, and bid him go and conſider better of it, and more diligently informe himſelfe, and to come and give me an account of it; but from that day to this I never heard more of him.

The petition is preſented by the party, or by ſome other in his name, after this manner. The Court, before the *Tribunall*, is commonly full of people that have ſuites there, but there is an entry in the middle of them, which leadeth directly to the *Mandarines* ſeat that is alwaies kept empty, and free to paſſe through. He that hath a petition to preſent, when his time cometh, kneeleth on his knees in that paſſage, having his petition in his hand lifted up as high as his head. Then the *Mandarine* ſendeth one to take it, and if he hath any queſtion to aske him, he asketh it; then if he accepteth the petition, he foldeth it, and layeth it on the Table; if not, he preſently throweth it away; and if he judgeth the petition to be impertinent, he appoynteth a certaine number of *Baſtinadoes*, to be beſtowed on the petitioner, as hath been already ſaid: and many times for no other reaſon, but becauſe the Judge is in ill humour, although he that preſenteth the petition is not the party whom it doth concerne. I ſaw the like caſe happen to a *Bonzo*, (for they alſo are ſubject to the ſecular power) for no other reaſon, but that the *Mandarine* was peeviſh.

The *Bonzo* uſed the ordinary *Ceremony* with his petition: his acceptance was, that the *Mandarine* preſently turned towards the Table, and caſt downe two Tallies of wood; which was no ſooner done, but preſently there were two men, that tooke the *Bonzo*, one by the head, and the other by the heeles, and throwing him downe to the ground, ſtripped downe his drawers to his very feete, and beſtowed ten Baſtinadoes upon him, with ſo much dexteritie, that the buſineſſe was done before any was aware of it.

Their condemnations are for the moſt part pecuniary, and ſometimes, though ſeldome, they are ſent into baniſhment, or to the Gallies, or rather ſomething equivalent to it. For to ſpeak the truth, they have not that puniſhment, but one very like it, that is, they are put to worke on the rivers, in the Kings ſhips and veſſels, they tugge at the oare, and do other ſervices, being bound two together in one chaine.

They only are condemned to death, (which is commonly executed by hanging, ſtrangling, or cutting off the head,) who falſifie the Kings mony, or commit murder: if there be many guilty of the ſame crime, one man only is executed, the reſt have other puniſhments inflicted on them: but robbers by the high-waies are all to die, if the fact be ſufficiently proved. Leſſer theeves for the firſt fault, if the theft be of ſmall value, are *Baſtinadoed*, and impriſoned for a certaine time. If they be taken a ſecond time, they have the ſame puniſhment with ſome advantage; or elſe they have theſe two letters *Za Tao* imprinted on the outſide of their arme, both which do ſignifie *Thiefe*. Theſe two letters are neatly carved on a piece of wood, and being rubbed over with inke, they do make the impreſſion of

of them on their flesh, and then with another piece of wood, wherein are foure needles conveniently placed, they do prick holes in that part of their flesh which is coloured with inke, and when the bloud cometh, they rub it with their hands, to give entrance to the inke; and by that means the impression remaineth for ever. Adulterers are severely punished, although not with death, and besides other chastisements they are sufficiently loaden with *Bastinadoes*. The women also taken in the same fault, if they have been formerly of honest repute, are whipt or *Bastinadoed*, with their drawers or *Calzones* pulled downe to their heeles, to make them the more ashamed, and sometimes also they are whipt in the publick streets: but, if they have formerly lost both their shame and their honour, they beat them only upon their *Calzones*.

They do many times die of the *Bastinadoes* they receive, especially if the delinquent deserve death, and they have a minde to dispatch him; for it is impossible a man should live, after he hath received seventy or eighty *Bastinadoes*, especially as they are laid on, when it is before a great *Tribunal*. In the year 1617 there was in the City of *Nankim* a kinde of *Confraternitie*, or society of fifty men, called by them *Thien Cam*. These according to an agreement made among themselves, did alwaies assist one another: an injury resented by one, was vindicated by all, and by this meanes they committed a thousand insolencies: at length they were almost all apprehended, & distributed to the severall prisons of the City; where there are at least fourteen or fifteen: at their very first entrance, they put about the neck of each a *Kian Hao* (of which we will speak hereafter) so heavie, that it was impossible for him that bore it, to stirre out of his place; and when any of them was to be brought out, he was forced to have two men to help him to carry it. They were brought to a triall before the Governour of the City, who caused them to receive threescore and ten blowes a man, whereof they all dyed.

For ordinary crimes they inflict a certain punishment, that is not in use among us in *Portugall*; they call it *Kian Hao*. It is a great thick board, foure or five Palmes square, with a hole cut in the middle of it about the bignesse of a mans neck. This they fasten about their necks, and to it are hung two scrolls of paper of a hands breadth, wherein are written his fault, and the cause of his punishment; they serve also to shew that the board hath not been opened: and so with these great boards about their necks, these poore wretches are brought out every day, and exposed to shame in the publick streets, for fifteen, twenty, or thirty days, according as they are adjudged by their sentence, whose greatest rigour is, that during all that time these boards are not taken off their necks, neither night nor day. And all this must be understood to be done after they have received their *Bastinadoes*, which are never wanting, there being no condemnation in *China*, (unlesse it be pecuniary,) without this previous disposition: neither is it necessary to make mention of it in their condemnation, this being alwaies understood to be their first dish, and as a necessary, though accessary circumstance; and then followeth their sentence, as the principall verb. And the truth is, that, as the *Giapponesses* are wont to say, they cannot Governe without the *Catana*, that is, the Scimitar or Sword;

Sword; ſo it may be ſaid of the *Chineſſes*, that without *Bambu*, that is, the cudgell or *Baſton*, with which they uſe to beat men, it is not poſſible they ſhould be ruled. For the better underſtanding of this, I will briefly declare the uſe of it.

In every *Tribunall* of *China*, when the *Mandarine* giveth audience, there ſtand neere unto his Table ten or twelve men on both ſides thereof, with long *Cudgells* in their hands, reſted upon the ground (and ſometimes for the greater terrour, they will place fourty men about them, as they did, when the fathers were brought before them for their Religion.) Theſe *Cudgells* are ſeaven palms long, being at the bottom about a hands breadth in circumference, tapering ſtill towards the top, where they are ſmall and ſlender, that they might more commodiouſly be uſed with both hands. They are made of *Bambu*, which hath ſome reſemblance to *Cane*, in that it is knotty and hollow within, but is different in this, that it is a maſſie, ſtrong, heavie, hard wood.

Moreover, on the Table of the *Mandarine* ſtandeth that caſe of woodden *Tallies*, whereof we have ſpoken, and every Tally importeth five blowes; wherefore when the *Mandarine* would have any one *Baſtinadoed*, he throweth downe as many *Tallies*, as make up the number of the blowes he would have given. Every one of the *Upi* (as the *Portugheſſes* call them who carry the *Baſtons*) is ready to take his *Tally*, others to ſieze the patient, and to lay him on the ground. Aſſoone as his breeches are pulled downe, preſently one of the *Upi* layeth five *Baſtinadoes* upon his naked fleſh, according to the import of his *Tally*, and withdraweth himſelfe. Then cometh another, and layeth on other five, and ſo it is alwayes done by a freſh hand, till he hath received the number aſſigned him: when the *Mandarine* throweth the *Tallies* out of the caſe, he is not to give any reaſon for it, neither muſt he be asked, but his commands are preſently put in execution, and only in ſome ſmaller offences the patient may obtain with his money, that the blowes be not altogether ſo fierce and cruell.

This is to be underſtood, when the *Mandarine* ſitteth on his *Tribunal*, for in no other place he maketh uſe of thoſe *Tallies*, although he be alwayes waited on with thoſe *Cudgells*; and by reaſon the uſe of them is ſo frequent, they alwayes accompany the *Mandarine*, who maketh uſe of them in any place, and upon any occaſion. It were a ſufficient cauſe if any one that met him on horſe-back did not alight, or that he croſſed his way, which becauſe it is a ſlight fault, is chaſtiſed only with five or ten blowes. And the *Mandarine* hath this power, not only in the Townes and Cities of his owne *Juriſdiction*, but alſo in any place whatſoever, though it be not properly under his *Authority*.

Before I left the City of *Nankim*, (the *Metropolis* of the Province of *Kiamſi*, where we have a Church, a houſe, and a good number of Chriſtians,) there came thither a *Mandarine*, who was Judge of one of the neighbouring Townes, and paſſed through our ſtreet, which is one of the moſt frequented of that City. There was, in a remote corner thereof, a fortune-teller, one of thoſe, who uſed to ſell good fortunes to the people, ſitting in his chaire, with his Table, books, and other things before him. The

Mandarine

Mandarine passed once up, and another time downe the street, and the *Suon Mim* (for so they call these *Diviners*) never moved himselfe off his chaire, either the first or the second time. After a few houres the *Mandarine* had occasion to passe through the same street againe, and coming to a little *Piazza*, in a corner whereof this unhappy fortune-teller had his seat, the *Mandarine* called out to him, saying, you make no difference of men, neither do you doe your Courtesie to the Kings *Mandarines*: take him away, and give him what he deserveth; presently in the street, before his owne seat, they gave him ten *Bastinadoes*. Go your waies now said the *Mandarine*, and learn manners, and study better that art of yours, since you have not been able to foresee this good fortune, that hath befallen you: with so much facility do they bestow their *Bastinadoes*; neither do men make any account of them, although they alwaies pay them in ready coyn; all do give them, all receive them, and all have felt them, neither doth it seeme strange to any one, nor doth any hold himselfe aggrieved for them. In the same manner do Lords and Masters chastise their servants, except only, that for the most part they do not take downe their breeches. The like do Schoole-Masters use in their Schooles to their Scholars, of what quality soever they be; beating them on the buttocks with their breeches on, and laying them not upon the ground, but upon a forme. The same also do they use to little children, for they have neither whips nor disciplines, but rather abhorre them; wondring how we can chastise our children with a whip, which they apprehend to be a very cruell thing; and the children themselves, because the whip smarteth more, and tis struck upon their naked skin, do rather choose the *Bambu*. And that you might want nothing, there are in *China* certain persons, who do buy these *Bastinadoes* at the *Tribunals*; or (to speak more correctly,) do sell the receiving of them in stead of others. But this is only in some slight causes, for in others they neither may nor will. But when the cause is such that this may be done, he agreeth with the party for so much a *Bastinado*, and appeareth before the *Mandarine* in the place of the delinquent, and receiveth them for him.

The *Rack* is used also in certain necessary cases. I do not know that they have above two kindes of it. That of the feet, and that of the hands. For the feet they use an instrument called *Kia Quen*, it consisteth of three pieces of wood put in one Traverse, that in the middle is fixt, the other two are moveable, between these their feet are put, where they are squeezed and prest, till the heele-bone run into the foot: for the hands they use also certain small pieces of wood between their fingers, they call them *Tean Zu*, then they straiten them very hard, and seale them round about with paper, and so they have them for some space of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. 29.

Of some particular things, which do facilitate and rectifie the Government in China.

THe *First* is, that the King doth bear the charges of his Officers, furnishing them with all manner of expences, by this meanes, taking from them all occasions, which might, through their necessities either engage them to severall Persons, or runne them much into debt, obliging them by the same meanes more strictly to observe the lawes, and to walk more directly in the paths of justice.

After that a *Doctour*, or *Licentiate*, or any other hath an employment bestowed upon him at Court, and departeth thence to go to his *Government*, all the expences of his person, Servants and Familie, as well in travelling by water as by land, including the hire of Boats, Carts, Horses, Porters, and other things, are all defrayed by the King.

Throughout their whole journey they never lodge at Innes, but in all the Townes and Cities, there are *Palaces* appointed for to entertain them, where all things fitting are provided for them. They alwayes send a man before as an harbenger, so that by that time they arrive, all things are in order for their reception. And if it fall out, as sometimes it doth, that they cannot reach to a good Town, there are in certain places, houses built for this purpose by the King, which they call *Yeli*, where every thing is provided for them. The worst is, that because it is all at the Kings charges it is done more profusely and lavishly than is requisite: as for example, when the *Mandarine* hath occasion for ten horses to carry his familie, they require fifteen or twenty; and there is likewise provision made for so many through the whole journey, and the greatest part of them receive this in money.

Neither doth the matter stop here, but goeth yet further. There being some, who have not so much care of their credit and reputation, as of their purse; and when they are to have so many dishes, and so many severall sorts of meat, according to the Kings appointment, they give order, that the provision should be lesse and receive the rest in money, nevertheless there are but few who dare be guilty of such baseness.

Neither doth the King only furnish the expence of their persons, but that also, which is requisite to sustaine the honour and dignitie of their places, as, men on horse back, and on foot to accompany them from Town to Town through all places where they are to passe.

The *Second* is, that in the places where their Governments are, he provideth them *Palaces* for their habitation, in case they have none of their own, as also rich Furniture and moveables, and all manner of Servants within doors, and without doors even to the pages, who are never so few, but that he alloweth eight or ten of them to a Judge of the smallest Town;

Town; yet they do not waite all at one time, unleſſe it be when the *Mandarine* giveth a particular command for it.

The *Third* is, that the *Mandarines*, in treating with the ſubjects, are very warie and circumſpect, never diſcourſing nor treating in ſecret with any, but alwayes publickly, ſo that every one may be witneſſe to what they ſay. Their *Palaces* are alwayes kept ſhut within & without. After they have given audience (which they do conſtantly every day; & many times both morning and evening, for there is alwayes ſometing to do) they retire, and the *Palace* is ſhut within, for the *Mandarines*, and without, for the Officers. And although the gates are opened as often as he hath a mind to go abroad, yet it is never done ſecretly, but one beateth a drumme within, to whom another anſwereth without, and preſently the Officers and other people, who are to accompany him, come together; aſſoon as they are all aſſembled, the gates of the *Palace* are opened, & the *Mandarine* cometh out.

The *Fourth* is, that no perſon of their houſe, whether they be Sonnes, Couſins, or Servants that dwell with them, may go out to viſit, converſe, or treat of any buſineſſe, for fear leaſt they ſhould receive any bribe or preſent. The *Pourveyour*, or *Caterour*, dwelleth without, and is of the ſame *Tribunall*, as well as the reſt of the Officers, and hath every day given him in writing, what he is to buy. And becauſe it is not convenient that the gates of the *Palace* ſhould be opened upon every ſmall occaſion, they have all turning wheeles, by which they receive in, and ſend out, whatſoever there is occaſion for.

The *Fifth* is, that they govern only three years in one place, by which meanes they are prevented from eſtabliſhing themſelves too ſtrongly, and from contracting any ſtreight alliances or friendſhips. None governeth in his own Countrie, except the Captains, who are preſumed, when there is occaſion, will defend and preſerve their own Countrie, with greater affections and endeavours than ſtrangers.

The *Sixth* is, that among the *Mandarines*, there is a great ſubordination of ſome to others. The inferiours with all reverence and obedience, reſpect their *Superiours*, and alſo viſit them courteouſly, and at certain ſet times do make them preſents.

The *Seventh* is, that there is a ſtrict watch kept over the Government. For beſides the *Tauli* and *Quoli*, whoſe office it is to inform themſelves of whatſoever paſſeth, and accordingly to give advice thereof to the King, every Province hath a *Viſitour*, not for many years, but a new one every year, to the end he might do his Office more exactly, and that he might either chaſtiſe, or give notice to the King of ſuch as do not comply with their duty, according to their obligation.

The *Eighth* is, that every three years there is a general viſitation held upon all the *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, partly by meanes of the information of the *Viſitours*, and partly by private inquiſition, and it is held the ſame year, wherein, from all parts of the Kingdome, the *Mandarines* go to render obedience to the King in *Pekim*, and ſo the execution of this review is done at the Court it ſelf by chaſtiſing ſome, abaſing others, and taking their offices away. The principall cauſes for which they are puniſhed, are theſe following.

First if they ſell juſtice, by receiving bribes, theſe loſe their Offices, and are ſent home to their houſes.

The *Second* is, if they be rigorous and cruell, puniſhing men beyond all humanitie, theſe loſe both their Office and honour, and are put into the ranck of the common people.

The *Third* is, if they be negligent or careleſſe in their government, they loſe their Office, but retain ſtill the Enſignes of their dignitie.

The *Fourth* is, if they be haſtie and precipitate, and not deliberate enough in giving their judgment, theſe are abaſed to lower Offices, as from a Governour to a Judge, and the like.

The *Fifth* is, if they be too young, and their Actions light and *Juvenile*, theſe are likewiſe degraded, and employed in lower charges.

The *ſixt*, if they be old, and have not ſtrength to undergo the paines requiſite in their audiences, and other ſervices of the King, they give them their *Quietus eſt*, and ſend them to take their eaſe at their own houſes. And although this be not a fault, but only a failing of nature, yet it is the worſt of all, becauſe they, not being able to remedie the incommodities of their old age, this defect ſtil encreaſeth upon them by time, and they are by conſequence made uncapable of returne to their Offices.

The *Seaventh* is, if they be careleſſe in the conduct and government of their houſe and Familie; whither it be that, where they actually dwell, or that which is in their own Country, which is governed alſo by their order, to which, both their ſervants, kindred and ſonnes, do yeeld an exact obedience (which is not hard for them to obtain, by reaſon of their great authoritie) theſe likewiſe loſe their Office.

The [illegible] thing, which much facilitateth good government, is, that the Kings will hear the *Mandarines* ſpeak, although it be in a buſineſſe that is diſpleaſing to them; and the *Mandarines* will freely ſpeak to them, although it be with ſome hazard to themſelves; ſo that both the one and the other are much to be admired, In the *Mandarines*, their liberty in adviſing, And in the Kings, their facility in hearing, In the *Mandarines*, their zeale to juſtice and good government, And in the Kings, their ſinceritie and deſire to ſettle and eſtabliſh it. They have many examples of this in their Hiſtorie, and I am willing to ſet down two or three of them.

From a certain *Province*, there was ſent unto the King, a damſell of a rare beautie, and incomparable features. Now his predeceſſour had been formerly intrigued and engaged in the like occaſion, & very great dammages had reſulted thereby unto the Kingdome (for ſuch like perſons are ſeldome cauſes of much good) and the ſame inconveniences were feared at preſent. A *Colao* undertook the buſineſſe, and reſolved to ſpeak to the King about it: he was admitted, and ſpake with ſo much efficacy and perſwaſion that the King told him, that aſſoon as ſhe was brought to the *Palace, ſhe ſhould be diſmiſed and ſent away*. Sir, replyed the *Mandarine*, your Majeſty would do well to command her to be ſent away ſuddenly, immediatly, for if ſhe once enter into your houſe, and that you have ſeen her, and heard her ſpeak, your hands will tremble, for women have the power to enchaunt without witch-craft: neither will I go out at one gate of the *Palace*, till ſhe be firſt ſent away at another. The which was accordingly put in execution.

There

There was a King ſo taken with the love of Birds, that he cauſed the moſt curious and beautifull Birds to be ſought for through the woods of the whole Kingdome: and as the Kings will is like the *primum mobile*, in giving motion to the hands of his ſubjects, this ſearch was put in execution with great labour and oppreſſion of the people, eſpecially of one Province, where this chaſe was continually made by many, inſomuch that the husbandmen could not attend their *Ploughing* and *Sowing*: ſo that by this meanes they came to ſuffer great want. It happened that a *Mandarine* paſſed through that *Province*, as he came from another, who had more zeale and compaſſion for them, than they who governed there. Aſſoon as he was come to Court he preſented a *Memoriall* to the King, wherein he did ſo lively ſet forth the ſmall importance of that chaſe, and the great trouble and diſturbance which it cauſed to the people, that the King, not only bounded his curioſity, and commanded they ſhould deſiſt from taking any more Birds; but alſo gave libertie to thoſe, which were already taken, commanding the doors of the *Aviaries* and *Cages* to be ſet open, that they might fly away.

In the City of *Pekim*, in the *Palace* of one of the Kings daughters, whom they call *Cum Chu*, there was one of her Servants, who was very inſolent, having committed many high crimes, and one among the reſt, which deſerved death: the *Mandarines* much deſired to apprehend him, but in the Palace they could not, and he never went abroad, but when he wayted on his *Princeſſe*. At length there was a *Mandarine*, who reſolved to take him by any meanes he could, and to this effect, when the *Princeſſe* went next abroad, he with his men ſet himſelf before the coaches, and made them ſtop, and then preſently laid hands on that man, and carried him away. The *Princeſſe*, reſenting the afront that was done her, returned preſently to the *Palace* full of indignation, and was ſo tranſported with colar, that ſhe would not ſtay till the King came back from the audience, where he then was, but went thither her ſelf in perſon to complain, The *Mandarine* was preſently ſent for, who had put himſelf in a readineſs, well imagining he ſhould be called: he preſenteth himſelf before the King, who ſharply reproved him. He anſwered him, Sir, I have done nothing but that which *your Majeſtie commandeth, & the law ordaineth*. But you ought, replyed the King, to have ſought ſome other time and opportunity. I have ſought it long enough, anſwered the *Mandarine*, but I ſhould never have found it. At leaſt, replyed the King, ask my daughter pardon, and bow your head. Where there is no fault, anſwered the other, there is no need of pardon, neither will I ask pardon for having diſcharged my Office. Then the King commanded two *Mandarines*, that by force they ſhould bow his head down to the ground: but he by ſtrength kept himſelf up ſo ſtiff, that it was not poſſible for them to do it; ſo that the King was conſtrained to ſend him away. A few daies after the King gave order, that he ſhould have a better Office beſtowed upon him, being much ſatisfied with his integrity. I forbear to relate many like caſes, which I might bring in confirmation of this.

The *Tenth* is the ſtrickt watch and ward, which is kept in the Cities, Townes and Villages; in every ſtreet there is placed a man, and if it be

long, two or more; who are appointed to take care of any disorders that may arise there. In every street likewise there is a kinde of prison called *Lemphù*, that is, *the cold shop*, where upon a sudden occasion they may imprison a delinquent, untill notice be given thereof to some Magistrate.

The *Eleventh* is, that every night infallibly all the gates of the City are shut up as we have already said. The streets also are shut up with grates made for that purpose: But the streets are not alwaies shut up, nor in all parts of the City, but only in some, and that upon some certain occasions and occurrences.

The *Twelfth* is, that persons of honour and authority do beare great respect one to another, and it would be accounted a great disgrace for any of them to quarrell with another openly. Hence it happeneth, that although many times they have occasion of disgust and hatred, yet outwardly they alwaies observe their *Decorum*; neither do they, upon this account, avoyd any meetings that they might not come together.

The *Thirteenth* is, that none do beare armes except the Souldiers, and they only at their musters, or when they do accompany the *Mandarines*. The common people, who contrariwise do easily quarrell one with another, do make use only of their *fists*, and he that catcheth the other first by the haire gaineth the battell; nay, if they have any thing in their hands, that might draw bloud, as a staffe, a piece of wood or iron, or such like thing, presently they lay it downe, and go to it with their *fists*.

The *Fourteenth* is, that the whores and curtezans, who are many times the causes of great disorders, do lodge without the walls, neither is any of them suffered to dwell within. They have no particular houses, but many of them live together with a man, who hath the care and government of them, and is obliged to give an account of any disorder that falleth out in their lodgings.

The *Fifteenth* is, that they forbid all commerce with strangers within the Kingdom, least they might infect them with new customes and manners, and disturbe their ancient way of government, which is a law, that was in part observed also by the *Lacedemonians*, upon the very same motive. Yet they have never prohibited *Embassadours* from other Kingdoms, and accordingly many are received, who are sent from the neighbouring Kings: only they lay this obligation upon them, that when they are arrived at the first City of the Kingdom, they are to stay there, where the Magistrates do treate them with all honour and respect, and presently give the King advice of their arrivall, who sendeth them leave to come to the Court, without which licence, they are not permitted to go forward. When they are come to Court, they are lodged in a particular *Palace*, whence they may not go out, but in the manner we have above related.

Above all, they have their certain laws, statutes, and ordinances, by which both they and their Kingdom are governed. These are of two sorts, The first consisteth in ancient rites, customes and ceremonies, common to the whole Kingdom, and are contained in five *Bookes*, and are esteemed to be, as it were Sacred. Of the second sort are the laws of the Kingdom, according to which, Justice is administred in particular cases, both civill and

and criminall, concerning all that is to be obſerved in the execution of them. Theſe are likewiſe very ancient, and are all founded upon thoſe five *Cardinall vertues*, ſo much eſteemed by their *Anceſtours*, and which are at this day held in great veneration among them, that is, *Gin*, *Y*, *Li*, *Chi*, *Sin*: *Pietie*, *Juſtice*, *Policie*, *Prudence* and *Fidelitie*.

Gin, ſay they, ſignifieth *Pietie*, *Humanitie*, *Charitie*, *Reverence*, *Love* and *Compaſſion*. Which they expliane after this manner, To eſteeme ones ſelfe leſſe than others, To be affable, To ſuccour thoſe that are afflicted, To help thoſe that are in neceſſitie, To have a tender and compaſſionate heart, To beare good will to all men, and, To uſe all this more particularly toward their parents, ſuſtaining them while they are in health, and taking care to have them cured while they are ſick, ſerving them while they live, and honouring them with funerall obſequies, when they are dead.

Y, according to their expoſition, is *Juſtice*, *Equalitie*, *Integritie*, *condeſcention in things reaſonable and juſt*. In this manner the Judge is to give every man his owne. The rich man, To take heed he be not proud of his wealth, and, To give ſome part of it to the poore, To worſhip heaven, To reſpect the earth, Not to be contentious, Not to be obſtinate, To yeeld to what is juſt and conformable to reaſon.

Li, they ſay, is *Policie*, *Courteſie*, to honour and reverence others as is fitting: which conſiſteth, In the mutuall reſpect one man is to beare another, In the mature conſideration & circumſpection, which is to be uſed in the ordering of their affaires, In the modeſtie of their outward deportment, In obedience to the *Magiſtrates*, In being affable to young men, and reſpectfull to old men.

Chi, ſignifieth *Prudence* and *Wiſdom*, the which they place, In reading of bookes, In learning of Sciences, In being perfect in the liberall arts, To be learned in matters of Antiquitie, To be well verſed in the knowledge of moderne affaires, To obſerve well what is paſt, thereby to better regulate the preſent and future occaſions, To diſcerne right from wrong.

Sin, they ſay, is *Fidelitie* and *Veritie*. It conſiſteth in a ſincere heart and a reall intention, To do only that which is good, To imitate what is juſt, To make their works and words agree, and that which is hidden within, to that which appeareth outwardly.

According to this diſtribution of their doctrine, they reduce the Common-wealth to five orders of perſons, correlative to one another in what concerneth the obſervance and duty of each, that is, the *King* and the *Subject*, *Father* and *Sonne*, *Husband* and *Wife*, *Elder Brothers* and *Younger Brothers*, and *Friends one to another*.

The *King* is to obſerve toward his *Subjects*, *Vigilancie*, *Love* and *Clemencie*, and the *Subjects* toward the *King*, *Loyalty*, *Reverence*, and *Obedience*. The *Father* toward his *Children*, *Love* and *Compaſſion*. *They* toward their *Father*, *Obedience* and *Pietie*. The *Husband* toward the *Wife*, *Love* and *Union*. *She* toward her *Husband*, *Fidelitie*, *Reſpect*, and *Complacency*. The *Elder Brothers* toward the *Younger*, *Love* and *Inſtruction*. The *Younger* toward the *Elder*, that is, to all their brothers that are elder than they, *Obedience* and *Reſpect*. *Friends* toward one another *Fidelitie*, *Truth* and *Sinceritie*.

This

This is the manner of living, which they obſerved in ancient times, and in the golden age: when their lawes were few, and they that gave *Obedience* to them many, being all founded upon the light and principalls of nature, as is yet to be ſeen in their books, expreſſed almoſt in the ſame termes they are in ours: when men took no pleaſure in governing, but retired from the Court, and left their government, if they ſaw the people were not profited by their authoritie and example, or that Kings did not moderate themſelves by their admonitions; and ſo withdrew themſelves to their owne poſſeſſions, which they tilled with their owne hands, as I have already touched in another place.

But after that *Ambition* and *Avarice* prevailed over *vertue*, and *private Intereſt* had blinded *Honour* and *Generoſitie*, this manner of living began to decay, and lawes to encreaſe: the new *Princes* changing ſome, moderating others, and adding many, eſpecially *Humvù*, the firſt of this familie which raigneth at preſent, who finding the Kingdome, by having been ſome years under the *Tyranny* of the *Tartars*, to have changed many of their ancient cuſtomes, for thoſe of ſtrangers, wholly altered the form of government, and reduced the Kingdom, which was formerly divided among many *Princes*, into fifteen *Provinces* and one *Sole Monarch*: whence he was conſtrained to make new lawes, having notwithſtanding alwaies regard unto the ancient ones.

Moreover, the *Chineſſes* have their Commandements, and in ſome *Provinces* they print them very well, and ſtick them up on the poſts of their doores towards the ſtreet; I believe they are not very ancient, and have ſome correſpondence with our Decalogue, as *Not to kill, Not to ſteale, Not to lie, To Honour their Father and Mother*, &c. And in this point of *Honouring their Parents*, we have much to learne of the *Chineſſes*, as alſo all other nations, who, in my judgement, are all exceeded in this, by *China*. Many excellent ancient things about *Honouring their Parents*, are to this day growne out of uſe, not in their ſpeaking and writing, but in the execution of them, wherein they are now too negligent. But there are others, which although anciently they were better ordered, yet are to this day in force and vigour enough, and are exactly obſerved from the *King* even to the meaneſt *Plebeian*, not only in ſuſtaining their *Parents*, making much of them, and having a ſpeciall care of them, and ſo much the greater, by how much the elder they are, but by reſpecting of them alſo with an incredible reverence and ſubmiſſion, and this, what degree, age, and condition ſoever their children are in.

The King himſelfe, on certain daies of the year, viſiteth his *Mother*, who is ſeated on a Throne, and, foure times on his feet, and foure times on his knees, he maketh her a profound reverence, bowing his head even to the ground. The ſame cuſtome is alſo obſerved through the greateſt part of the Kingdom, and if by chance any one be negligent, or deficient in this duty, toward his *Parents*, they complaine to the *Magiſtrates*, who puniſh ſuch offenders very ſeverely.

Nor is the reſpect leſſe, which they beare their *Maſters* and *Tutours*. And if *Alexander* could ſay, that we owe more to our *Maſters*, who inſtruct us, than to our *Parents* who beget us, it ſeemeth to me, that in *China* only

only this duty is understood, and discharged as it ought to be: for besides the respect, which, during their whole life, they professe to their *Masters*, they are never wanting at certain times to make them presents; and when they are advanced to degrees and offices, they conferre on their *Masters* very considerable benefits and favours.

The *Old men* also in this Kingdom have their place and advantage, the *Chinesses* honouring them no lesse than they were anciently esteemed among the *Lacedemonians*.

When they meet together, although there be some of the company, who are of greater *Nobilitie* (if they have not a dignitie or office; for these alwaies keep their place,) the *Old men* have the precedence, and the young men upon all occasions pay them great respect. The Magistrates do them honour publickly, especially, when they are not only *old* in years, but also in vertue and good life, having lived without scandall and reproach, and particularly, if they have never been cited into any Court, nor accused of any crime, which among them is taken for a *Testimony* of very great probitie and goodnesse: hence came their proverb, which saith *Xin Pu Kien, Quon Zieu Xita Pao*, that is, *The man who hath never seen a Mandarine* (they mean sitting in judgement upon him) *is a precious stone.*

The Magistrates every yeare make *them* a publick banquet, at the Kings charges, with Royall magnificence and ceremonies of great Honour and respect, shewing thereby, what is due to *grey haires*, which are venerable, not only for their years, but also for their vertues.

To conclude, the *Chinesses* have their books full of Sentences and good councells, did they but as well observe them in the practise, as they keep them carefully in their papers. I will only repeat some few of them, which come first to my memory.

In doing service to our Masters and old men, the principall point is reverence and courtesie.

We must hide other mens faults; and not publish our owne perfections.

In the generall Government, there must be no particular affection.

We must not do evill, though it be never so little, nor leave a good deed undone, because it is not great.

The vertuous, although young men, are to be Honoured, and the vicious, although old men, are to be avoided.

CHAP. 30.

Of the Moores, Jewes, and other Nations, that are in China.

I Have spoken briefly of the Kingdome of *China*, the people, their customs and manners, as well as I have been able, in regard I am at this present out of the Country, and deprived of the use of their books, out of which I might have taken many things of worth and curiositie. But seeing

ing that at this time I cannot ſay all that is to be ſaid of any thing, it will not be amiſſe, to ſay ſomething of all, and therefore I will now ſpeak of the other nations, who live among them.

In deſcribing the *Province* of *Cantone*, I ſaid that the Iſland of *Haynam*, which is very great, and wholly appertaineth unto *China*, is divided into two parts: the firſt, which is neereſt to the continent, is, on the North part thereof, inhabited by *Chineſſes*, and governed by them: the other, which lieth toward the *South*, upon the confines of *Chochin*, *China*, is inhabited by a barbarous people, who have their particular language, and their laws and cuſtomes different, without medling at all with the *Chineſſes*, unleſſe it be in ſome things of commerce.

I ſaid alſo, that between the *Provinces* of *Chincheo*, *Cantone*, and *Kiamſi*, there are certain Mountaines which unite them, as in *Catalogna* the Mountaines of *Monferrat* do unite that Province to the Kingdome of *Arragon*; and how within thoſe Mountaines there was a ſmall Kingdome, which was likewiſe Governed by it ſelfe, not admitting any thing from the *Chineſſes*, except Phyſicians, Medicines, and ſome little traffique.

Beſide theſe in the Province of *Yunnan*, which is very large, lying towards the *South*, in the latitude of 24 degrees, there is a great Countrie inhabited by a particular people, who uſe another language and other cuſtomes. They have a little King called by the *Chineſſes*, *Thu Quon*, a *Mandarine* of earth, they pay tribute to the King of *China*, they uſe traffique, and live in peace.

The ſame things hath been ſaid of the *Province* of *Que*, *Cibeu*, where, in the confines thereof, there is a people, who have their particular heads, and Governours, without any other dependance on the *Chineſſes*, than the Inveſtiture of the Title, by which they are called.

There are moreover in *China*, *Moors* in great abundance, not in all the Provinces, nor in every City, but yet in the more principall. They ſpeak the language of the Countrie, and know nothing of their own tongue, a few words only excepted. They are acquainted alſo with many things of the holy Scripture.

In *Nankim* I found one, who was born and bred in that Citie, that pronounced to me *David*, *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, as diſtinctly as I could do my ſelf. In their *Phyſiognomie*, noſe,, eyes, beard and face, they are altogether like the *Chineſſes*. They are Merchants, Phyſicians &c. They have Offices in the *Tribunals*: they ſtudy and are admitted to the examinations, and come many times to be *Mandarines*, but not of the great ones: for the moſt part they ſtop at the degree of *Licentiate*. Commonly where they live, there are Beef-Shambles, becauſe they eat no Pork, therefore whereſoever they are, they kill and ſell Beef; and it ſeemeth to me to be the greateſt advantage the Country hath by them; for where they are not, there is Seldome any of that fleſh to be ſould. They have their publick *Moſches* allowed them by the King, They follow their own religion, but not very exactly. They, who arrive at the degree of *Litterato*, or to the dignity of ſome Office, do not much care to be advanced higher.

They preſerve their Nation entire, by marrying with one another, although ſometimes they take *Chineſſe* Women for their Wives; but they never

never give their Daughters in marriage to the Sonnes of *Chineſſes*. The reaſon is, becauſe in *China* the wife followeth the husband, ſhe is brought to her husbands-Fathers houſe, there ſhe liveth and followeth his religion; therefore when a *Gentile* is brought to the houſe of a *Moor*, ſhe becometh a *Moor*, and a *Mooriſh* Woman being brought to the houſe of a *Gentile*, muſt infallibly become a *Gentile*.

The *Chineſſes* deſpiſe them as being ſtrangers, and call them *Hociten Hoci Hoci*. The letters, with which they write their name, hath no other ſignification, but only proper to expreſſe that people, nevertheleſſe they are very angry and grieved, when they are called by it. The name by which they call themſelves is *Kia Muen*, that is, *the gate of Inſtructions*. If they be deſpiſed of the *Chineſſes*, they no leſſe deſpiſe them, becauſe they worſhip Idols, and are *Gentiles:* and thus the one is not behind hand with the other. In the City of *Nankim* they have, as it were a mount of *Pietie*, or *Lombard*, with which they help only thoſe of their Nation, but not thoſe, who are Priſoners for their miſdeeds and wickedneſſe.

They came into *China* about 700 years ſince being called from *Turqueſtan*, by the King of that time, to aid him againſt a rebellion that was then in the Kingdome, wherein they had ſo good ſucceſſe, that they who were willing to remain there, were allowed to enjoy the ſame priviledge with the natives of the Country; ſince which time they have ſo multiplyed, that at this time there are many thouſands of them. Afterwards in the warre which King *Hum* had with the *Tartars* about 300 yeares ſince, they took his part and came in, to his aſſiſtance; at which time the King gaining the victorie they grew into greater eſteem and were admitted to take part in the government of the Kingdome.

We have already ſpoken of the entrie which is made into *China*, every three and every five years, with an *Embaſſie* and preſents to the King; and though they are all *Moores*, yet they are of ſeverall Countries and Kingdomes, and very rarely any of them remain in *China*.

There are likewiſe *Jews* in *China*, although at this time no great number of them: but when, or how they came thither I am not able to ſay. Anciently there was greater ſtore of them, but they have been diminiſhed by little and little, many of them turning *Moors*. There live more of them in the Province of *Honan*, in the capitall City thereof, called *Cai Fum Fu*, than in any other place. They have there a *Synagogue*, well built and adorned in the faſhion of a great Chappel, and ſet out with curtaines. They ſay they have there a very ancient Hebrew Bible. Father *Julius Alenes*, one of our company, was among them for ſome time: they ſhewed him their *Synagogues*, but would not draw their curtaines and let him ſee the Bible. Father *Matthæus Riccius* affirmeth, that according to the relation which the *Jews* themſelves made to him thereof in *Pekim*, it was not at all differing from ours. They have no knowledge at all of *Chriſt*, ſo that it ſeemeth, they were entred into *China* before he came into the World; or at leaſt, if they have ever heard of him, the memorie of it is quite loſt: and therefore it would be of great conſequence to ſee their *Bible*: for perhaps they have not corrupted it, as our Jews have done, to obſcure the glorie of our *Redeemer*.

Theſe, as they are in no great number, ſo it is not probable they ſhould long preſerve themſelves. They who at the Court had ſome diſcourſe with our Fathers, did much lament that they had loſt themſelves for want of the *Hebrew Tongue*, and by the little knowledge they had of their law, and ſaid, that after ſome time they ſhould all become either *Moores* or *Gentiles*: that the ruler of their Synagogue at that time was a decrepit old man, and his ſonne, who was to ſucceed him in his Office, young and ignorant of the things of their law, and that indeed there were very few among them, who were zealous obſervers of it.

Moreover theſe *Jews* did ſeem to be much troubled and weary of the reproaches which the *Gentiles* laid upon ſome ceremonies of their law, which is a ſign they have no great affection for it: as, their not eating of Swines fleſh, their not touching a beaſt, which hath been killed by the hand of a Gentile, but eſpecially the circumciſing their Infants on the eighth day; which their wives and *Chineſſe* kindred tell them, is a *cruell and barbarous thing*.

At this time we have, in that City of *Cai Funiſú* a houſe and Church; and (when I left that Kingdome) a good number of Chriſtians, which daily encreaſed, not without hope alſo, that ſome good may be done upon thoſe Jews, who being ſo ready to change their religion, will more eaſily embrace the true one, which hath more conformitie to theirs, than any other.

CHAP. 31.

Of the Chriſtian Religion *planted many ages ſince in* China : *and of a very Ancient ſtone lately diſcovered there, which is an admirable Teſtimonie thereof.*

IT hath alwayes been a well grounded opinion, that the *Chriſtian* Religion hath been very anciently planted in *China*, *Paulus Venetus* making a relation of that Countrie (from whence it is certain that he went many daies journey into the Countrie of the *Tartars*) aſſureth us, that in that time there were a great number of *Chriſtians in China*, who had very ſumptuous Churches, and named the Cities where they lived. He wrot this with very much truth; for of all that which he mentioneth, there are yet remaining many houſes, and in other places the ruines of them, as a *Teſtimonie* of it.

To this may be added the *Teſtimonie* of other grave Authours, wherein we read, that the preaching of the *Goſpell* penetrated as farre as *China*, by the *Miniſtrie* of the *Apoſtle St. Thomas* and his *Diſciples*. Among other writings, out of which this may be drawn, the *Chalde* books concerning the *Indian Chriſtianitie* cultivated by the meanes of the ſaid Apoſtle, are of no

no ſmall moment, the which it is certain, are to this day preſerved and kept in the *Arch-Biſhoprick* of *Granganour*, or *Della Serra*, (that is of the Mountaines) as it is vulgarly called; tranſlated out of that language by order of the Arch-biſhop thereof *Franciſcus Ros*, by the pains and induſtry of one of our fathers, who was very skilfull in that tongue. The tranſlation is in Latin, but that it may be more generally underſtood, we will turne what is cited out of it, into the vulgar.

One of theſe books is a Breviary, which, in one of the leſſons belonging to the ſecond nocturnall, hath theſe words.

By the means of S. Thomas *the errours of the Idolatry of the Indians were diſſipated. By the meanes of* St. Thomas *the* Chineſſes *and* Æthiopians *were converted to the truth. By the meanes of* St. Thomas *they obtained the vertue of* Baptiſm, *and the* Adoption of Sonnes. *By the meanes of* St Thomas *they believed in the* Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt. *By the meanes of* St. Thomas *they kept that faith, which they had promiſed to God. By the meanes of* St. Thomas *the beames of the knowledge of life enlightned all* India. *By the meanes of* St. Thomas *the Kingdome of Heaven flew and entred into* China. And preſently there followeth an Antiphona, which ſaith,

The Indians, *the* Chineſſes, *the* Perſians, *and the other Iſlanders, they of* Siria, Armenia, Græcia *and* Romania, *in commemoration of* St. Thomas do offer their *Adoration unto* thy moſt Holy Name, O great God.

In the Summarie of the Conſtitutions ſynodall, part. 2. cap: 19, concerning *Biſhops* and *Metropolitans*, there is a *Canon* of the Patriark *Theodotius*, which hath theſe words;

In like manner alſo the Biſhops of the great Province, ſuch as are for the moſt part the Metropolitans of China.

After the arrivall of the *Portugheſes* into *Cocchine*, the governour of the Mountaines of *Malaber* who was called *Don. Diego* entitled himſelf *Metropolitan* of *India* and *China:* as did alſo *Don Giuſeppe*, who died at Rome. Theſe were the *Ancient Titles* of that Church; and being taken al together are ſtrong arguments, that the Chriſtian Religion did formerly flouriſh in *China.*

Theſe were the powerfull motives, that did engage us, after our arrivall thither, with much care and fervour to trace the ruines and footſteps of that *Ancient Chriſtianitie.*

In the Hiſtories of that Kingdome, which we have very diligently peruſed, we found no mention thereof, to our great admiration, knowing well, how curious and diligent Inquiſitours the *Chineſſes* are in the affaires of their owne Countrie, that they might eternize the memory of them. It is true, we had information, that there were ſome in thoſe parts, who did reverence the *Croſſe* and made the ſigne of it over their meat, without knowing the reaſon why they did it. When I was in the capitall City of *Kiamſi*, I was informed by a *Chriſtian*, that in the little Towne of *Tamo, Xan*, which was not farre off, there were ſome, who when they went out of doores, did make the ſigne of the *Croſſe* upon their forehead, and being asked the reaſon of that cuſtome, they anſwered only, that they had learnt it of their *Anceſtours.*

In the Court of *Pekim*, ſome of our fathers being one day to viſit a Jew,

he discourſed more particularly to them concerning this matter, and named to them the places and families, who did practiſe this ſigning with the *Croſſe*. We ſent a brother of our ſociety thither, with this information, but with all the diligence he could uſe, he was not able to diſcover any thing of what he ſought for, whether it were that they had a ſuſpicion of him, or that really this cuſtom, or thoſe families were extinct. Notwithſtanding the Jew did ſtill affirme, That there were anciently many of theſe, who did reverence the *Croſſe*, particularly in the Northern Provinces, and that having gained a great reputation by their skill in learning and armes, they did cauſe the *Chineſſes* to have a great ſuſpicion of them, ſo that thinking themſelves no longer ſafe, they diſperſed themſelves into ſeverall places: others who remained behind, diſſembled the Religion they had profeſſed: others became, either Moores or Jewes, and by this means they came to be extinguiſhed. This, as the Jew ſaid, was about 50 years before, and it is now about 30 years ſince he made this relation.

During theſe thirtie years, we have gone about all *China*, and founded Churches in ſeverall of the biggeſt Towns, planting the *Chriſtian Religion*, and uſing all diligence to diſcover this truth, without having been able to obtain our purpoſe in the leaſt. It is true, we found a ſmall Bell, ſuch as is uſed at Maſſe, with Greeke letters round about it, and a *Croſſe* very handſomely graved: But this may have been brought in lately from other parts, upon ſome occaſion, ſuch as fall out often in that Countrie: as it was likewiſe probable, that book of Eſops Fables in latin did, bound up after our manner, which I ſaw in the Province of *Nankim*. We then, conſidering on one ſide the great ſcarcitie of evident ſignes for the proving a thing of ſo great importance, & which was Authorized by ſo many pens and powerfull reaſons, it was no marvell, if we were in doubt, and perplexitie: and on the other ſide holding the thing for infallible, as really it is, we made uſe of ſome other waies, to finde out other reaſons and motives, why we thus failed of all manifeſt ſignes, different from what the Jew had told us, diſcourſing with our ſelves in this manner.

When the *Tartars* conquered *China* there were many *Chriſtians*, who had ſumptuous Churches, being much favoured by them, as appeareth by the relation of *Paulus Venetus*. Afterward when *Humvù* endeavoured to re-gaine the Kingdom, and made warre upon the *Tartars*, the *Moores* tooke part with the *Chineſſes*, and lent them their aſſiſtance for the gaining of the Kingdom, and of the victory which they obtained, in acknowledgement whereof they were allowed to remaine in *China*, with libertie of their Religion and of their *Moſches*. The *Chriſtians* inclined to the *Tartars*, and they being overcome in that warre, the *Chriſtians* alſo were deprived of their *Eſtates*, and ſome being ſlain, others changing their Religion, others flying and hiding themſelves in ſecret places, in a ſhort time, all ſigne and memory of our Religion periſhed, ſo that it was not poſſible for us to diſcover any thing, with all the diligence we uſed to that purpoſe.

To conclude, we remained very diſconſolate in the midſt of ſo great darkneſſe, when it pleaſed *The only fountaine of light to draw us out of this obſcuritie, with a moſt clear Teſtimony, that the Goſpel had flouriſhed there many ages ſince: The thing fell out thus.* In

In the year 1625, as they were digging the foundation for to erect a certain building neere to the City of *Siganfù*, the Capitall Citie of the Province of *Xemsi*, the workemen lighted upon a table of stone above nine palmes long, and more than foure in breadth, and above one palme in thicknesse. The top of it, (that is, one of the extremities, or ends, of the length thereof,) endeth in the forme of a Pyramid, above two palmes in height, and above one palmes breadth at the Basis. On the plaine of this Pyramid, there is a well form'd *Crosse*, the extremities whereof end in flower-deluces, after the fashion of that *Crosse*, which is reported to have been found graved on the Sepulchre of the Apostle S. *Thomas* in the Towne of *Meliapor*, and as they were anciently painted in *Europe*, of which there are some yet to be seen at this day.

This *Crosse* is encompassed, as it were, with certain clouds, and at the foot thereof were three Traverse lines, each consisting of three great letters, being all such as are commonly used in *China*, very fairly graven: with the same sort of letters is engraven the whole *Superficies* of the stone, as also the thicknesse thereof, the which notwithstanding differeth from the rest, in that some of the letters graven thereon, are forraine, neither were they knowne here at the first finding of it.

Scarcely had the *Chinesses* discovered and cleansed this notable piece of Antiquitie, when excited by the fervour of their naturall curiosity, they ranne to the Governour to give him notice of it, who being much joyed at this newes, presently came to see it, and caused it to be placed upon a faire Pedestall, under a small Arch, sustained by pillars at each end thereof, and open at the sides, that it might be both defended from the injuries of the weather, and also feast the eyes of such as are true Lovers of venerable Antiquity. He caused it also to be set within the circuit of a Temple belonging to the *Bonzi*, not farre from the place where it was taken up.

There was a wonderfull concourse of people to see this stone, partly for the Antiquity thereof, and partly for the novelty of the strange Characters, which was to be seen thereon: and as the knowledge of our Religion is at this day very much spread abroad in *China*, a *Gentile*, who was a great friend unto a grave Christian *Mandarine* named *Leo*, being present there, presently understood the mystery of that writing, and believing, it would be very acceptable to his friend, sent him a copy thereof, although he was distant above a month and a halfes voyage, the *Mandarine* dwelling in the City of *Hamcheu*, whither our fathers had retired themselves, by reason of the former persecution, whereof we shall speak in its proper place. This copy was received with a spirituall *Jubilee*, and many exteriour demonstrations of joy, as an irrefragable Testimony of the *Ancient Christianity* in *China*, which had been so much desired and sought after: for no lesse was contained in this writing, as we shall shew anon.

Three years after in the year 1628 some of our fathers went into that Province in the company of a *Christian Mandarine*, who had occasion to go thither. They founded a Church and house in the capitall City thereof for the service of our good God, that he, who was pleased to discover so precious a memoriall of the possession taken in that Country by his divine law, would also facilitate the restitution thereof in the same place. It

was

was my good fortune to be one of the firſt, and I eſteemed it a happy abode, in that I had the opportunity to ſee the ſtone, and being arrived I took no thought for any thing elſe. I ſaw it and read it, and went often to read, behold, and conſider it at leiſure, and above all, I did much admire, that being ſo ancient, it ſhould be ſo entire, and have the letters ſo plainly and neatly graven.

On the thicknes of the ſides thereof, it hath many *Chineſe* letters, which containe many names of the *Prieſts* and *Biſhops* of that time. There are alſo many other letters, which were not then knowne, for they are neither Hebrew nor Greek: and (for as much as I now underſtand) they containe the ſame names, that if peradventure ſome ſtrangers, might not underſtand the letters of the Countrie, they might perhaps be better acquainted with thoſe of a forraigne extraction.

See the Syriack inſcription explained by Kirkes in his Prodrom: Copt cap. 3. pag. 73.

Paſſing by *Cocchine* I came to *Cranganor*, where is the *Reſidence* of the *Archbiſhop* of *Coſta*, to conſult about theſe letters with father *Antoni Fernandes* one of our ſocietie, who is very skilfull in the books and writings of thoſe ancient Chriſtians converted by S. *Thomas*. He told me the letters were *Syriack*, and the very ſame which are uſed there at this day.

But let us come now to the inſcription of our *Marble* which no doubt, ere this hath raiſed an appetite in the reader to know it.

Thoſe three lines, which are at the foot of the *Croſſe*, each conſiſting of three letters, as we have ſaid, being faithfully tranſlated, as alſo all the reſt, as neere as poſſibly I could, ſay thus.

A Relation in the Praiſe and eternall memorie, of the law of the light of truth brought from Judea, and preached in China.

See another Tranſlation ſomewhat differing from this in Kirchers, Prodrom. Copt cap. 3. pag. 53.

THe writing is graved on the plaine ſide of this ſtone in its proper letters, placed in lines running from top to bottom after the Chineſe faſhion. The firſt line, which is the ſhorteſt ſaith thus.

I *A* Prologue *made by the* Prieſt *of the Kingdom of* Iudea *named* Kim Lim. The reſt of the inſcription in a magnificent Orientall ſtile, containeth that which followeth.

II *Oh how true and profound is the eternall, and the incomprehenſible moſt ſpirituall ſpeaking of time paſt, he is without beginning, and of time to come he is without end, and alwaies in the ſame perfection. He tooke nothing, and with it he made all. He is a principall, conſiſting of* Trinitie *and* Unitie, *yet without any reall principle. The Lord* Olooyu. *He made the foure parts of the world in figure of a* Croſſe. *He moved the* Chaos *and made the two principles. There was an alteration made in the* Abyſſe, *and heaven and earth appeared. Nature at the beginning was pure, and exempt from diſordinate paſſions, and the heart was cleane, without the unrulineſſe of the appetites.*

III *Man came afterward to fall into the deceits of* Satan, *who covering with words the miſchiefe he had plotted, perverted the innocence of the firſt man. From this principle ſprang* 365 Sects, *which by reaſon they were ſo many did one drive away the other, and of all of them was made a net, wherein the world was caught. Some choſe the creatures and appropriated* Divinity *to them: others were plunged in that errour of thinking that all is nothing, and ends in nothing.*

Others

Others make sacrifices to invite good fortune with: Others counterfeit vertue to deceive the world. The understanding corrupted with errours, and the will with passions, are altogether obscured. Men walked forwards without ever arriving at the end they aimed at. The world was all in a miserable combustion. Man still multiplied the darknesse, and loosing his way, wandred long time in it, without finding the truth.

IV. *Then the* Messias, *one of the* three persons, *covered his true Majesty and making himself a man, appeared unto the world. An Angell came to manifest the* Mystery, *and a* Virgin *brought forth the* Holy one. *A* Starre *appeared, which gave notice of his birth to those of the Kingdome of* Pozu: *They came to offer him* Tribute, *and all was done according to what had been foretold by the foure and twenty Saints. He published to the world the most pure law. He purified their customes, and rectified the faith. He cleansed the world. He perfected vertue, and therein founded the three vertues. He opened the way to life, and shut up that of death. He manifested the bright day, and banished obscure darkenesse. He conquered the obscure seate, at what time the devill remained wholly subdued, and succoured with his mercy the sinking world, that men might ascend to the habitations of light. After he had perfected his works, he ascended into the heavens at* Midday. *There remained 27 books of holy Scripture. There was opened the gate to Conversion by means of that water, which cleanseth, and purifieth. His Ministers made use of the* Holy Crosse, *they made their abode no more in one place than in another, that they might illuminate the whole world. The world being thus reduced unto Union, men did walke after their example, and (thus) did they open the way of life and glory.*

V. *They suffered their beard to grow, and did shew by this means, that they were like other men in their externall part. They cut their haire, even to the roots, upon the top of their head, and by this they shewed, that they had no internall wordly affections. They kept no servants, the Noble and the common men were with them the same thing. They tooke no riches from men. They gave to the poore that which they had. They fasted and watched to bring the flesh into subjection to the spirit. Seaven times a day they offered sacrifices of praise, by which they helped the living and the dead. Every seaventh day they did offer. They purified their hearts to receive the holy innocence. The true law hath no name that doth well suite with it, and that is able to explaine the excellency thereof; therefore because it wanteth another name, we will call it* The law of Brightnesse. *The law, if it be not holy, cannot be called great: and if holinesse be not answerable to that which the law teacheth, it may not have that name. But in this law the holinesse correspondeth to the law, and the law to the holinesse.*

VI. *If there be not Kingly Persons to favour it, the law cannot well be propagated, if they receive not the law, they cannot grow truly great. When they and the law do agree, presently the world is enlightened. By this means, at the time, when a King named* Tai Zum Veu Hoam *did governe with famous prudence and sanctitie, there came from Judea a man of high vertue, by name* Olopuen, *who being guided by the clouds brought the true doctrine. And in the year* Chin Quom Kieufu *he arrived at the Court. The King commanded the* Colao Fam Kizulin, *that he should go and meet him as farre as the West, and that he should treate him as his guest with all manner of kindnesse. He caused this doctrine to be translated in his palace, and seeing the law to be true, he powerfully*

commanded

commanded it should be divulged through the Kingdome, and presently after, he sent forth a royall patent, which contained that which followeth.

The true law hath no determinate name. The Ministers thereof go about in every part to teach it unto the world, having no other aim, but to be profitable to those that live in it. In the Kingdome of Tachin, *this* Olopuen, *being a man of great vertue, hath brought from so remote a Countrie Doctrines and Images, and is come to place them in our Kingdome. Having well examined that which he proposeth, we find it to be very excellent, and without any outward noise, and that it hath its principall Foundation even from the Creation of the World: his doctrine is brief, neither doth he found his truth in superficiall appearances; it bringeth with it the salvation and benefit of men: wherefore I have thought it convenient, that it should be published through our Empire.*

He commanded the *Mandarines* of this Court of *Nimsam*, that they should build there a great Church, with 21 Ministers, weakening by that meanes the Monarchie of *Chen Olao Fu*, head of the sect of *Tauzu*; which was carried in a black Chariot toward the West: so, the great *Tam* being enlightened together with *Tao*, the Holy Gospel came into *China* and a little while after, the King commanded, that *Olopuen* his Picture should be painted on the wals of the Temple, where it shineth, and his memorie will alwayes shine in the World.

VII According to the records of the Empires of *Ham* and *Guei* the Kingdome of *Tachin* bordereth Southward upon the red Sea, and Northward on the Mountaines of Pearls, Westward on the Forest *Delle Fule Per Li Santi*, Eastward on the Countrie of *Cham Fum*, and the dead water. The Countrie produceth a Lake Asphaltitis of fire, Balsome, Pearles and Carbuncles: it hath no robbers, but all live in joyfull peace. The Gospel only is allowed in that Kingdome: and honours are conferred only on those that are vertuous. Their houses are great, and all is illustrious by their order and good customes.

VIII The great Emperour *Cao Zum*, the Sonne of *Tai Zum*, continued with good *decorum* the intention of his Grand Father, enlarging and adorning the works of his Father. For he commanded, that in all his Provinces, Churches should be built, and honours conferred on *Olopuen*, bestowing upon him the Title of Bishop of the great law; by which law he governed the Kingdome of *China* in great peace, and the Churches filled the whole countrie with the prosperitie of preaching.

IX In the year *Xim Lie* the *Benzi* of the Sect of the *Pagods* using their wonted violence, did blaspheme this new and holy law, in this place of *Tum Cheu*: and in the year *Sien Tien*, some particular Persons in *Sigan*, with laughter and disparagement did mock at it.

X Then one of the chief of the Priests, called John, and another of great vertue, named *Kie Lie*, with some others of their Countrie, Priests of great fame, being disingaged from the things of the world, began to take up again that excellent net, and to continue the thred, which was now broken. King *Hi ven Zum Chi Tao* commanded five little Kings to come in person to the happie house, and to set up Altars. Then in the year *Tien Pao*, the pillar of the law, which had been cast down for a while began to

to grow great: King *Taciam Kium* gave command to *Caolie Sic* that the Pictures of five Kings his anceſtours ſhould be placed in the Churches, with a hundred Preſents to honour the ſolemnitie. Although the great beards of the Dragon, were afarre off, yet could they lay hands on their Bowes and their Swords. The brightneſſe which floweth from theſe Pictures, maketh them ſeem, as if the Kings themſelves were preſent. In the third year of *Tien Pao*, the Prieſt *Kieho* was in *India*, who guided by the ſtarres came to *China*, & beholding the Sunne, came to the Emperour, who commanded that *John*, and *Paul*, and other *Prieſts* ſhould be joyned unto him, to exerciſe Holy works in *Kim Kim*, a place within the palace. Then were hung up in Tables in the Churches the Kings letters richly adorned, by publique order, with red and blew colours, and the Kings pen filled the emptines: it mounted on high, and tranſcended the Sun; his favours and donatives may be compared to the tops of the Mountaines of the South; and the abundance of his benefits is equall to the bottom of the eaſtern Sea. Reaſon is not to be rejected; there is nothing which the Saints cannot do; and their deeds are worthy of memorie. For this cauſe king *Sozun Ven Mim* commanded, that Churches ſhould be built in this *Limvu*, and in five Cities. He was of an excellent nature, and opened the Gate to the common proſperitie of the Kingdome, by which meanes the affaires of the Empire began to flouriſh again.

XI King *Taizum Venvu* cauſed happie times to return again; doing things without labour and trouble: alwayes at the feaſt of the nativitie of Chriſt he ſent Heavenly perfumes to the Royall Churches, to honour the Miniſters of this holy law. Truly, heaven giveth beautie and profit to the world, and liberally produceth all things. This King imitated heaven, and therefore he knew how to ſuſtaine and nouriſh his ſubjects.

XII King *Kien Chum Xim Xin Venvu* uſed eight wayes of government for to reward the good and chaſtiſe the wicked, and nine wayes to renew the eſtate of the Goſpel. Let us pray to God for him, without being aſhamed of it. He was a man of much vertue; humble, and deſirous of peace; and ready to forgive his neighbour, and to aſſiſt all men with charitie. Theſe are the ſteps of our holy law: to cauſe the winds and the raines to retire at their ſeaſons: that the world ſhould live in peace, men be well governed, and affaires well eſtabliſhed; that the living ſhould proſper, and the dead be in happineſſe; all this proceeds from our Faith.

XIII The King gave many honourable Titles in his Court to the Prieſt *Y Su*, a great Preacher of the Law, and alſo a garment of a red colour; becauſe he was peaceable, and took delight in doing good to all. He came from afarre off into *China*, from the Country of *Vam Xe Chi Chim*. His vertue ſurpaſſed our three famous Families; he enlarged the other ſciences perfectly. He ſerved the King in the Palace, and afterward had his name in the Royall book. The little King of *Fuen Yam*, who had the Title of *Chum Xulim*, and called himſelf *Cozuy*, ſerved at firſt in the warres of theſe parts of *Sofam*. King *Sozum* commanded *Y Su* that he ſhould aſſiſt *Cozuy* very much above all the reſt: neither did he for this change his ordinarie cuſtome; being the Nailes and Teeth of the Common-Wealth; the Eyes and Eares of the Army. He knew well how to diſtribute his re-

venue; he was not ſparing in any thing: he offered a precious Gift, called *Poli*, to the Church of this place of *Lintiguen*: he gave Golden Carpets to that of *Cie Ki*. He repaired the old Churches, and eſtabliſhed the houſe of the law, adorning the chambers and galleries thereof, making them ſhine like flying lights; he laid out his whole ſtrength upon works of charitie: every year he aſſembled the Prieſts of the foure Churches, ſerving them with a good heart, and making them honourable entertainment for the ſpace of fifty daies; he fed the hungrie, cloathed the naked, cured the ſick, and buried the dead.

XIIII In the time of *Ta So*, with all his parſimonie, there was not ſuch goodneſſe, as this to be ſeen: but in the time of this law we ſee ſuch men, who do ſuch good works as theſe. For this reaſon have I graved this Stone, that thereby they might be publiſhed.

I ſay then; that the true God had no beginning, but being pure and quiet, was alwayes after the ſame manner: he was the firſt *Artificer* of the *Creation*, he uncovered the earth, and elevated the Heaven. One of the three Perſons made himſelf man for our eternall ſalvation: he aſcended like the Sunne on high, and defeated darkneſſe: in every thing he did diſcover the profound *Truth*.

XV The illuſtrious King, being really the firſt of the firſt, making uſe of a fit time, put a ſtop to mens invention: the heaven was dilated, and the earth extended. Moſt bright is our law: the which, when *Tam* came to the Kingdome, and propagated the doctrine, and builded Churches, was as a *Barque*, both for the living and the dead, and gave reſt to the whole world.

XVI *Cao Zum* following the example of his Grand-Father, built new Churches. The beautifull Temples of peace filled the whole earth. The true law was illuſtrated; he gave a title of honour to the *Biſhop*; and men enjoyed repoſe.

XVII The wiſe King *Hi Vin Zum* followed the right way; the royal Tables were illuſtrious; the Kingly letters ſhone therein. The Pictures of the Kings gave light on high, and all the people did reverence them; and all men had joy and gladneſſe.

XVIII When *So Zum* reigned, he came in perſon to the Church. The *Holy Sunne* did ſhine, and the bright cloudes ſwept away the darkneſſe of the night: Proſperitie was united to the Royall family; misfortunes ceaſed, the heat of diſſentions was abated: he quieted the rumours, and he renewed our Empire.

XIX King *Taizun* was obedient; in vertue equall to heaven and earth: he gave life unto the people, and advancement to their affaires: he exerciſed works of charitie; he offered perfumes to the Church. The *Sunne* and *Moone* were united in his perſon.

XX When King *Kien Chum* reigned, he did illuſtrate famous vertue; and with his armes reſtored peace to the foure ſeas: and with his learning he pacified 10000 confines. As a torch he did enlighten the ſecrets of men, he ſaw all things as in a glaſſe: He received the Barbarians, who all took rules from him.

XXI The law is great and perfect, and extendeth it ſelfe to all things, deſiring

desiring to frame a name for it, I cannot but call it, *The Divine Law*. Kings know best to dispose their affaires, I, who am a subject, can only cause them to be recited on this rich stone, for to magnifie our great felicitie.

XXII In the Empire of great *Tam*, the second year of *Kien Chum*, the seaventh day of the Month of Autumne, was this stone erected. *Nin Cin* being *Bishop*, and Governing the Church of *China*. The *Mandarine*, called *Liù Sicuyen* entitled *Chaoylam* (in which office before him was *Tai Cheu Su Sic Kan Kiun*) graved this stone with his owne hand.

This is the *Interpretation* of that *Inscription*, translated as faithfully as we could possibly, out of the *Chinesse* Phrase.

It will not be impertinent now to make some *Annotations* upon the text, having forborne on purpose to do it before, that I might not breake the thread of the discourse, and therefore we will take the *Paragraphs* in order, noting the words which we will explaine, and giving some advertisement upon them.

I *Giudæa*. This word is written iust thus without any other difference, but that the Characters are *Chinesse*. The same is found also in the other words or names, of *Satanas* and *Messias*, which are in the iii and iiii *Paragraphs*.

II *Olooyu*. This word is written just thus in the stone, and it is probable he meant *Eloi* which is a name of God. *The two principalls*, of which he speaketh afterward, are matter and forme according to their Phylosophie.

III *The kingdom of Pozu*, in the *Chinesse* maps, lyeth East of *Judea*. *The 24 Saints* may well be, The *foure* great *Prophets*, The *twelve* small Prophets, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Job*, *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David* and *Zacharias*, the father of *John* the *Baptist*, who put together, make up that number, and have spoken the plainest concerning the coming of Christ.

IV *He conquered the seat*, &c. It seemeth that he speaketh of the Redeemers descent into hell. *Twenty seaven books*. It is probable he meaneth the new Testament, that is, The foure *Evangelists*, The *Acts* of the *Apostles*, The fourteen Epistles, of S. *Paul*, one of S. *James*, two of S. *Peter*, three of S. *John*, one of S. *Jude*, and the *Revelation*.

V *Seaven times a day they offered* &c. He seemeth to speak of the seaven Canonicall houres. *Every seaventh day* &c. Signifieth the sacrifice of the Masse, which was celebrated every Lords day.

VI. VII. *The year of Chim Quom* &c. According to the computation of their Histories, it is the year of our *Redemption 636*. *Weakening the Monarchie* &c. This clause is an Elogie given to that Prince by the Authour of this Inscription. *Was carried in a black chariot toward the West* &c. It is to be understood, that it went away out of *China*.

VIII *Caozum*. It appeareth by their books, that he reigned in the year of our Lord 651.

IX *Ximlie*. According to the Christian Computation, was the year 699. *Tumcheu*. The opinion of the Translatour is, that it was a particular place in the Province of *Honam*. *Sien Tien* is the year 712. *Sicham*, Called at present *Sigam*, was the ancient Court in the Province of *Xemsi*.

X *King Hi Ven Zum*, &c. Began to raigne in the year 714. *Tien Pao*

lived in the year 745. *Cao Lie Sic*, is the name of an Eunuch, who was very powerfull with that King. *The Beards* &c. This clauſe is another Elogie (made by the Authour) of thoſe Kings. *The Dragon* &c. According to the interpreter, this is an ancient fable of that Kingdom, which relateth, That one of their Kings rid through the ayre mounted upon that beaſt, which his ſubjects, who accompanied him, had laden with their armes, but they which came after plucked off the beard of the *Dragon*, and took ſome of the armes; that theſe might remain by them as a memoriall of that Prince, whom they did fancy to be preſent with them in theſe reliques. This fable might haply take its Orginall from the cuſtome which their Kings have, of embroydering *Dragons* on their garments, and other things, which belong to them. *The third year of Tien Pao* &c. falleth out, according to our account, to be the year 745. *Sozun Ven Mim*, reigned in the year 757.

XI. *Tai Zun Vemvu*, began to raigne in the year 764.

XII *Kien Chum Xim*, was King in the year 781.

XIII *Vam Xe Chi Chim* is a place in the Country of the Pagods, and ſignifieth a remote Countrie. *Poli*, ſaith the interpreter, is ſome veſſel of glaſſe.

XIV. *Taſo* was a *Bonzo* of the ſect of the Pagods, who made a great aſſembly of the *Bonzi*, to treate of the publike affaires of that religion, and tooke care to lodge them, and provide all neceſſaries for them.

XIX *The Sunne and Moone* &c. Signifieth, that all obeyed that King.

XXII *Kien Chum*, was the year 782. In the other *Paragraphs* whereon we have made no *Annotations*, there is nothing of obſcuritie to require it.

It appeareth then evidently, by the teſtimony of this venerable Antiquity, that the *Chriſtian Religion* was planted in *China* by the means aboveſaid, in the year of *Chriſt* 636, nevertheleſſe, it is not to be imagined, that it was not formerly brought thither by the preaching of the Apoſtles, who as the holy Scripture ſaith, did diſperſe themſelves through the whole earth: but, as it happened in ſeverall other Countries, that after it had once been propagated there by them, it came in time to be extinguiſhed, and was againe renued by the induſtry of others; ſo it fell out in *India*, where S. *Thomas* the Apoſtle had once preached the Goſpel; but all memory thereof being loſt, about the year 800, a rich *Armenian Chriſtian*, called *Thomas* the *Canaanite* reſtored the ancient Religion in the Citie of *Mogo Doven*, or *Patana*, repairing the Churches, which had been formerly built by that holy Apoſtle; and erecting others. And upon this occaſion of the likeneſſe of their names, many have miſtaken them to be all built by the firſt *Thomas*. The ſame thing may probably have happened in *China*, where the Goſpel being received, preſently after it, began to be publiſhed to the world; and being afterward extinguiſhed, it was introduced again a ſecond time, whereof this inſcription maketh mention; and laſtly a third time, whereof we purpoſe to treat in the ſecond part. It ſeemeth neceſſarie thus to ſtate the matter, that we may not derogate from the Teſtimonie of thoſe grave Authours, whom I have formerly cited, how *St. Thomas the Apoſtle* did preach in *China*, and converted it to the true Religion.

The

The time wherein the memorie of the Holy Apoſtles preaching was loſt, was not much different both in *India* and *China*; for by ſeverall conjectures it appeareth, that *Thomas* the *Cananite* renewed it in *India* in the eighth Century after Chriſt; and by this ſtone it is manifeſt, that it was in the ſeventh Centurie after Chriſt, when it was preached in *China*: and therefore without much difficultie it may be Concluded, that this was not the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Religion there; but rather a reeſtabliſhment of it.

The end of the firſt part.

THE

THE SECOND PART,

VVherein is contained

The Christianitie of the Kingdome

OF

CHINA.

CHAP. 1.

Of the first beginnings of the Preaching of the Gospel in China.

ACcording to the opinion of *Socrates*, he was to be esteemed no lesse injurious, who spake against the Sunne, than he, who should denie the beautie of the light thereof, with which it maketh the day, and of that which is the fruit therof, as *Tertul.* allegorizeth it, that is, the flower. It would be no lesse a fault, but rather more unpardonable in him, who treating of the conversion of *China*, should deny *Franciscus Xaverius* to have bin the flower of that day of Grace, which, having bin set there for so many ages, is now risen again upon the Gentiles of that *Monarchie*. He was the first who came to the gates therof with that Treasure of the holy Gospel, after he had cõmunicated it to so many severall Kingdomes and Provinces. The glorious Saint *Leo* speaking of the Apostle *St. Peter* saith, *Jam Populos, qui in circumcisione crediderunt, erudierat : jam Antiochenam Ecclesiam fundaverat : jam Pontum, Galatiam, Cappadociam, Asiam atque Bithyniam, legibus Evangelicæ Prædicationis impleverat : nec aut dubius de provectu operis, aut de spatio suæ ignarus ætatis, Trophæum Crucis Christi Romanis arcibus inferebat.*

All

All *India* doth confeſſe no leſſe of their Apoſtle, to whom the bounds of the *Eaſt*, though very large, ſeemed but narrow, having already inſtructed in the faith the principall Cities thereof *Goa* and *Cochin*, having planted the Goſpel on the coaſts of *Peſcaria*, having converted the Country of *Travancor*, inſtructed *Cambaia*, and propagated the faith at *Malacca*, preached the true religion at *Macazar*, & the *Molucche* Iſlands; and finally, converted the King of *Bungo* in *Giappon*, and filled all that Kingdom with the knowledge of the law of Chriſt; yet ſtill the deſire of a greater harveſt, and to profit other Nations, ſuffered him not to reſt. *Studium proficiendi aliis, otii illum impatientem reddidit*, as *Robertus Abbas* ſaith of another Labourer in the Goſpel: *unde nec aut dubius de provectu operis, aut de ſpatio ſuæ ignarus ætatis Trophæum Crucis Chriſti Sinicis arcibus inferebat.*

This was his ayme, theſe were his hopes and deſires, with which he undertooke the voyage of *China*, when being arrived at *Sanciano*, where the *Divine Providence* had appointed he ſhould end his daies; (that being true which *Tertullian* ſaith, *Deus omnium conditor nil non ratione providit, diſpoſuit, ordinavit.*) And the Lord being well appayed with the intention of his ſervant, and the ardent deſires which he had, to ſacrifice his life in this enterpriſe, as *Abraham* had to ſacrifice the life of his ſonne *Iſaac*, cauſing him to aſcend up into Mount *Sancian*, (as he did *Moſes* into Mount *Nebo*, after he had ſhewed him the land he ſo much deſired to conquer) *Mortuus eſt, jubente deo*: the good man died by the ordination and appointment of Heaven; after he had ſeen and ſhewed unto his Sons that land, which he had gained (like another *Jacob* for *Joſeph*) with the bow of his will, and the arrowes of his deſires, leaving them for an inheritance the conqueſt thereof, together with his hereditary ſpirit; which his ſonnes and followers having received (in part,) made their aſſault, and at length entred this place; and it is now about fifty years that they have kept it with many labours, travels, perſecutions, impriſonments, *Baſtinadoes*, and in a word, *Egentes, Anguſtiati, Afflicti*; Theſe being the armes with which the ſtandard of the Chriſtian faith is ſet up in the Kingdomes of the *Gentiles*, and by means whereof (together with the grace of God,) ſo many men have been converted unto Chriſtianitie, as you ſhall finde in this following relation.

After my returne into *Europe*, and that my intention of ſeeking Labourers for this vine-yard was once divulged, preſently there were ſo many pretenders, who made ſuit to me to be received, that there is ſcarce a Province of our ſociety, from whence I have not received many letters from ſeverall of the fathers, wherein they did not only offer themſelves, but made it their moſt earneſt requeſt, that I would accept of them, to ſerve as Souldiers in this enterpriſe; as if the trouble and paines they were to ſuffer in theſe long and dangerous voyages, and the perſecutions they are ſo certaine to undergo in this exerciſe, were to this undertaking, as the prickles are to Roſes, whereof S. *Ambroſe* ſaith, That they are *Amatoria quædam illectamenta.* And in the Province of *Portugall*, as being moſt conveniently ſcituated for this voyage, only out of the two Colledges of *Conimbra* and *Ebora*, I had a liſt of 90 perſons, all ſo ready and deſirous to labour in this *Miſſion*, that many of them, not being content to declare their deſires by ordinary

ordinary words written with pen and inke, have ſent me very long letters concerning their holy pretention, all written and ſigned with thier owne blood, witneſſing in this manner, that they had a holy courage, that could deſpiſe the threats of Martyrdom; offering cheerfully to the Lord that little blood, as a Teſtimony of the great deſire they had to ſhed it all for his ſake.

Who now can doubt, whether theſe be not the marvellous effects of that ſpirit and zeale which *Franciſcus Xaverius* communicated to them, occaſioning inwardly in the breaſt of each of them, that which a little while ſince he did outwardly in that great Champion *Marcellus Spinellus*, by ſending him to *Giappon*, where he crowned that glorious enterpriſe with his blood.

Sancian is one of thoſe many Iſlands, which, on that ſide, give a beginning to the Kingdom of *China*: it is a high mountain covered with trees, and though very pleaſant, yet un-inhabited. When the *Portugheſſes* firſt began their trade with *China*, this Iſland ſerved them for a Port, and there they built houſes with ſtraw, like huts, which ſerved them only for the time of their Negotiation, & whileſt they expected their merchandiſe; but as ſoone as that came, they abandoned that habitation, and preſently ſetting ſaile, returned into *India*. Foure and fiftie miles from thence, more within the Kingdom, there is another Iſland named *Gau Xan*, and by the *Portugheſſes Macao*, it is but ſmall, and ſo full of rocks, that it is very eaſie to be defended, and very opportune for the rendevous of *Pyrats* and robbers; as indeed it was at that time, when many of them having got together in that place, did much infeſt all the Iſlands thereabouts. The *Chineſſes* were in conſultation how they might remedy that miſchiefe, but whether it was that they wanted courage to undertake it, or that they choſe rather to have it done without running any danger themſelves, and at other mens coſt, knowing well the vaſour of the *Portugheſſes*, they ſet them upon the enterpriſe, promiſing them, that if they could drive out the *Pyrats*, it ſhould be granted to them for an habitation.

The *Portugheſſes* accepted of the condition with much pleaſure and contentment: and though they were but few and much inferiour in number to the *Pyrats*, nevertheleſſe being more skilfull in military affaires, they put themſelves in order, and ſet upon them with ſo much courage, that without the loſſe of one man on their owne party, though with great ſlaughter of the enemie, they preſently became Maſters, both of the field and Iſland. They began preſently upon this to build, every one taking that place and ground which ſeemed good to him: But that which coſt nothing at firſt, came after to be ſold very deare, and at ſo high a rate at this preſent, that it would hardly be beleeved, how much the leaſt piece of ground to build on in that City would coſt. For, trade beginning to faile every where in *India*, doth here encreaſe ſtill every day, and the Inhabitants are growne ſo rich, that the covetouſneſſe of the Hollanders have made them have a great longing to it, and did once attempt to take it.

In the moneth of *Iune* 1622. Fourteen ſaile of Hollanders came into that Port, with ſo much reſolution and aſſurance to take that City, that they

they had already divided (in their thoughts) the principall parts thereof among themſelves, and many Captaines and old Souldiers came along in this Fleet, only out of hopes to have their former ſervices paid them here, and to ſettle themſelves in a condition of eaſe and plenty after all the hardſhips they had endured. They landed 700 men on Midſummer Eve, 300 of them ſtaid upon the ſhore to guard the Cannon, the other 400 having drawn up themſelves into a ſquadron, went to the Hill of our *Lady della Guida*, marching towards the Citie with ſo great order and cheerfulneſſe, as if they had the victorie already in their hands.

They were no ſooner diſcovered from the Mountain of *S. Paul*, but they were received with two or three ſalutes from the cannon on that ſide, ſo well levelled, that beginning to abate of their fury, they left the direct way toward the Citie, and turned on the left hand toward the Mountain of our *Ladie del buon porto*: and becauſe there was a Garriſon there, they kept off about twice Musket-ſhot, and fortified themſelves on the ſides of the Hill where *St. Maries Church* ſtands. But the *Portugheſſes* diſcharged upon them ſo ſeaſonably, and with ſo much valour and courage, that they put them to flight, and made them run down the hill toward the Sea, where the other Souldiers ſtood by the ſhips. They fled in ſo much diſorder and confuſion, that although there were above 300. there to guard their Artillerie, who did ſucccour them with freſh Men, and encourage them to face about, yet all was in vain, and ſo both the one and the other forced to runne into the water up to the chin, to get into their boates: and theſe ſcaped well; for many went over head and eares; and a barque by reaſon of the confuſion and diſorder of thoſe that got into her, ſunk down right, and above 400 men were drowned. The number of the wounded, is not known; but it is conjectured, they could not be few: for whileſt they embarqued, our Muskettiers, who ſtood upon a hill juſt over them, played continually upon them. Of the *Portugheſes* there were ſlain only three or four, and ſome Servants. *The Hollanders* being ill ſatisfied with this entertainment, preſently ſet ſaile, and durſt never ſince hazard themſelves upon the like enterpriſe.

This was the cauſe of fortifying the Town of *Macao*, with a wall round about it, having ſix *Bulwarks*: that of *St. Paul*, which ſerveth as a citt addell, ſtanding higher than the Town, having fifteen pieces of Cannon, a Court of Guard, and a Caſtellan belonging to it: That of the Port, having fourteen piece of cannon, among which are ſix great ones, that carry each of them a ball of 50 pound weight, and another Court of Guard. The third Bulwark is that of our *Ladie del buon porto*, with eight piece of cannon. The fourth, that of *St. Francis* toward the Mountain, with other eight piece of Cannon. The fift is, that of *St. Peter*, with five piece of Cannon. The ſixt is, that of *St. John*, with three piece of Cannon. And becauſe the Mountain of our *Ladie della Guida* commandeth both the Bulwark of *St. Paul* and the Citie, it was fortified in the year 1637 in the ſame manner as the Rock of *Charil* is: it hath ten great braſſe Cannon.

The Citie is not great, there are in it about 900 or 1000 *Portugheſſes*, who are all rich, and live very ſplendidly: there are many *Chineſs* Chriſtians, who are cloathed, and live after the *Portugheſſe* faſhion; there

are alſo *Chineſes* who are *Gentiles*, and are cloathed, and live after the faſhion of their own Countrie: all the Artizans of the Citie conſiſt of this laſt ſort, as alſo the Shop-keepers and Retailers &c. and are in all about 5 or 6000.

There reſideth alſo in the ſame Citie an Auditor, who is ſent thither by the King of *Portugal*, and is ſuperintendent of the traffique and commerce of that Iſle. The trade with *Giappon* (not to ſpeak of that of *Manila*, which is worth very much) yeeldeth the King every year, for his rights and cuſtomes at ten *per cent*. many thouſands of Crownes *per annum*. In the year 1635 it was worth to him 14000 *Taus*, which are better than Crowns.

The Citie ſpendeth every year, one year with another, in their Artillerie, Gunpowder, and the charges of their walls, and other things belonging to their Militia, (as appeareth by the books of publique accounts) above 40000. Crownes.

The rights and cuſtomes of the Faire of *Cantone*, at 6 and 7 *per cent.* importeth about 40 or 50000 Crowns. The Navigation to *Giappon* with the Preſent which is ſent to the King, and other Preſents to the *Toni* of that Iſland, coſteth between twenty and five and twenty thouſand Crownes. Their houſe of *Mercy* ſtandeth them every year in 8 or 9 thouſand Crownes. They mantain two Hoſpitals, three pariſh Churches, five Monaſteries, foure of Men and one of Women, beſides the continuall Almes, which they diſtribute to the poor Chriſtians of thoſe Countries; and particularly to them of *China*: and although the ordinarie Almes, which the King of *Portugall* alloweth them from *Goa* hath not been paid theſe 19 years, yet are they wel relieved by the liberalitie of the Citizens of *Macao*. I doubt not but the Lord doth favour this Citie for their many Almesdeeds, and for the great care they take about the Service and Worſhip of God.

Finally, this Citie of *Macao* is a continuall Seminarie, wherein are educated and brought up many of thoſe Labourers, who cultivate not only *China* and *Giappon*, but alſo all other Chriſtianities of the Neighbouring Kingdomes. It is alſo a Sanctuarie and place of Refuge, where, in times of troubles and perſecutions, they may all ſhelter themſelves, as it were in another *Moab*, being upon all occaſions, *Refugium à Facie Vaſtatoris*.

One of the Convents of this Citie is a Colledge belonging to our Societie. There are commonly between threeſcore and foureſcore perſons in it, more or leſſe, according to the number of the perſons they receive, or ſend away. For all *Miſſions* being furniſhed out of them, their number muſt needs be very uncertain. There are in that Colledge two Lectures in Divinitie; one of Caſes of Conſcience; one courſe of ſuperiour ſtudies; two claſſes of Latin; one ſchoole for children, ſo numerous, that the lower forme thereof containeth above 90 children of the *Portugheſes*, and people of that Countrie.

Out of this Houſe, (which at the beginning was very ſmall, and the labourers there very few,) firſt came the Souldiers of this enterpriſe. Father *Alexander Valignan* of happy memorie, who was then Viſitour, reſolved to ſend ſome of the Fathers into *China* to endevour to convert that vaſt Kingdome to the faith of Chriſt; when preſently the firſt difficulties began at the Colledge it ſelfe, a manifeſt prognoſtication of the many

many that ſhould happen in the progreſſe of the work, and execution of the undertaking. For to ſome of the Fathers, by reaſon of the knowledge and experience they had of the Kingdome of *China*, this enterpriſe ſeemed not only difficult, but alſo raſh and unadviſed, wherefore they adviſed the Viſitour not to ſet his mind upon it. But our Lord, who bringeth wonderfull things to paſſe from weak and troubleſome beginnings, would have this deſign put in execution.

Father *Michael Roggiero* was the firſt, who was named to take paines in this conqueſt; he was followed by the Fathers *Franciſcus Paſſius*, *Antonius de Almeida Duarte*, *Matthæus Riccius*, and others, who came after and helped on the work, and like the foundation-ſtones of that building, ſuſtained the firſt weight thereof and greater difficulties, labours and troubles, than any *Miſſions* of our ſocietie had ever felt. For the difficulties in new *Miſſions* into Kingdomes ſo remote and different, from our *Europe* in language, cuſtome, converſation, diet &c. are not ordinarie; neither can they be few. But thoſe in the *Miſſion* of *China* do far exceed all others. The language ſeemeth more difficult than any in the world, being all of *Monoſyllables*, curt and æquivocall: and in this difficulty the Fathers were without any Maſter to teach them, without any interpreter to explain what was ſaid to them; ſo that they neither underſtood others, nor others them; but by force of diligence and unwearied paines they went on conquering and gaining ground: and although they never arrived at any perfection in the language, or good accent in pronouncing it; yet they diſcovered the myſteries of that tongue, and ſet them down in ſo plain a forme, that they made it much more eaſie for thoſe who came after them. To this may be added the painfull ſtudy of their letters, which of it ſelfe alone is a buſineſſe of incredible labour, they being ſo many and ſo various: and in this *Miſſion*, (contrarie to what is done in others) the Fathers do ſtudy them all with ſo much diligence, that they have not only learned to write, and to read their books very perfectly, but do alſo compoſe others themſelves, and have of late publiſhed many to the great advancement of *Chriſtianity*: and in truth, the *Fathers* in *China* do juſtly deſerve this praiſe, that that language being ſo hard, and they having the letters too to be ſtudied which are not very eaſie, yet they do ſpeak that language much better, than any others do thoſe, of their *Miſſions*; for of themſelves they are able to catechiſe, preach, treate, and converſe with the greateſt *Mandarines* of the Kingdome, and to ſpeak to the King himſelf, if there were occaſion, without making uſe of any ones tongue, but their own; their endeavours in this particular being extraordinarie, and ſuch, as are not uſed in other parts: and our Lord by his ſingular providence doth ſweeten this labour, and ſeaſon thoſe difficulties they undergo for his ſake with much joy and conſolation. Moreover, there is to be a generall change throughout their whole bodies; in their beard and their haire, which they muſt ſuffer to grow very longe; in the faſhion of their cloathes, in their manner of converſation, in their cuſtomes and behaviour, and all other things; which are as different, as they are remote from ours.

Beſides all theſe ordinarie difficulties, (which are found more or leſſe,

in all *Miſſions*)it is not to be beleeved,how ſharp a warre the devil hath raiſed up againſt this; endeavouring by the ſtrength of difficulties and perſecutions to make us deſiſt from the enterpriſe: and it went ſo farre, that Father *Valignan* the Viſitour,conſidering the great obſtructions we found every where, the extraordinarie difficultie there was to enter, and the great trouble there was to ſtay there, how little good we could do there, and yet how much we ſuffered; reſolved to call back the Fathers to *Macao*, to employ them in ſome other *Miſſions* of leſſe danger and trouble, and where a greater profit of Soules might be made. But the Lord, who had otherwiſe ordained it for the good of his elect, would not ſuffer the Labourers to come away,and leave the work begun in that Kingdome,where it was to have ſo advantageous a progreſſe.

CHAP.2.

Of the proceedings, and perſecutions of the Fathers, before they arrived at Nankim.

THe Fathers did ſtill perſevere in the Reſolution they had taken to enter and ſettle themſelves in *China*; and accordingly three times the ſame year they attempted with all diligence to make their entire,but were as often repulſed,and ſent back out of the Kingdome, with that reſentment and grief, which is eaſily imaginable they had, to find almoſt every ſpark of hope extinguiſhed by ſuch extraordinarie difficulties, as they found, and by that great averſion, the *Chineſſes* had to admit of ſtrangers.

I have been told,that about that time,Father *Valignan* looking one day out of a window of the Colledge of *Macao* toward the Continent, the good old man cried out with a loud voice, and the moſt intimate affection of his heart,ſpeaking to *China*; *Ah Rock, Rock, when wilt thou open, Rock?* But (as there is no councell againſt God, who ſeeth and knoweth the times and moments of his divine Reſolutions,)when the entrance ſeemed more ſhut up than ever, and more encompaſſed with difficulties, after ſo many attempts and endeavours had been fruſtrated, nay, after they had been ſharply reproved by the *Vice-roy* of *Cantone*, and by publick order been ſent back to *Macao*; then did the Lord our God open the gate by ſuch meanes as were not to be imagined.

The Fathers had not been full ſeven daies returned to *Macao*, wholly deſpairing of the buſineſſe, when there arrived a meſſenger from the governour of *Cantone*,named *Chi Fu*,bringing letters from the *Vice-roy*,wherein he invited the Fathers to *Xaokim*, the Capitall Citie of *Cantone*, where the ſame *Vice-roy* of the Provinces of *Cantone* and *Quamſi*, had his reſidence; offering them there a place for their Church and Houſe.

The Fathers entred into *Xaokim* in *September* 1583. with no little joy to ſee

ſee themſelves eſtabliſhed in a moment, where, before with all their endeavours they could never ſo much as ſet their foot. They built a houſe and Church, and gave a beginning to their intention, by tranſlating the ten Commandements, as well as they could, into the *Chineſſe* language; and ſetting forth, how neceſſary the obſervance of them was. The worth of theſe new gueſts was more admired in the City, for their good works and holineſſe of life, than for their words, not being able yet to ſpeak that language ſufficiently; but almoſt continuall troubles and perſecutions were never wanting to them. The covering of their houſe was ſo loaden with ſtones by the inſolence of the people from a neighbouring Tower, that they were in great danger of their lives: and, becauſe a ſervant of the houſe laid hold of a little boy, and threatned to complaine of him, preſently an accuſation was ſet on foot againſt the Fathers, that they had miſuſed the *Sonne* of a *Citizen*: but in the end they were cleared by evidence of the fact: ſoone after, other calumnies were raiſed againſt them, particularly againſt Father *Raggiero*, whom they accuſed of *Adultery*; but his innocence was ſoone cleared, it being proved, that he was at that time more than two months journy from the place, where that crime was ſaid to be committed. Then did the people of *Xaokim* begin to throwing of ſtones againe, with which they did ſo ruine and batter the houſe, that the Fathers miſſed very little of being killed: all this while did their condition ſeeme like unto a tempeſtuous ſea. But amongſt ſo great tribulations and dangers, the Lord was pleaſed to ſend them ſome daies of peace and tranquilitie; and among ſo many thorns they gathered ſome roſes, and ſome fruit of their labours: which was the reaſon that their ſufferings did not ſeeme ſo grievous to them, neither did they undergo them without joy and delight, hoping to make a greater progreſſe, when the deſired calme ſhould happen. Neither were the Fathers wanting (particularly Father *Mattheus Riccius*,) by their knowledge in *Mathematiques*, and principally by a deſcription of the world in a new *Mappe*, to give reputation to the affaires of *Europe*; and to make acquaintance and friendſhip with perſons of qualitie; when behold, by the coming of a new *Vice-roy* there was ſo terrible a ſtorme raiſed, that notwithſtanding all the diligence and addreſſes which were made, not only by the Fathers, but alſo by their friends, it was impoſſible to finde any remedy, or to put a ſtop to the ſentence, which that *Vice-roy* fulminated againſt the Fathers; which was, That they ſhould all immediatly returne to *Macao*, without giving them any time of ſtay there, or ſuffering them to go into any other Country; but that they ſhould preſently depart, and ſhould be brought preciſely to *Macao*. They were forced to yeeld obedience, and ſo leaving ſome things belonging to the houſe in the hands of their friends, and carrying other things along with them, after they had made a ſhort prayer unto God, recommending unto him that little flock, which they were forced to leave among Wolves without a ſhepherd, and after they had exhorted the Chriſtians to continue ſtedfaſt in the faith, wherein they had been ſeven years inſtructed, they departed downe the current of the river; both the Chriſtians, which remained there, as alſo the Fathers, who tooke their leave, weeping very much, & recommending each other to the divine Province and Protection.

When

When they were arrived at the *Metropolis* of *Canton*, the Admirall of the *Chineſſe* Navie, or *Haitao*, who was to conduct them to *Macao*, was not to be found: where, while they ſtayed to expect him, they wrote to the Viſitour in *Macao*, that after two or three daies they were to be baniſhed by order of the *Vice-roy*: but they had hardly paſſed a day there, when they eſpied a boate coming toward them with all ſpeed, ſent from the *Vice-roy*, to invite them back againe to *Xaokim*. It ſeemed to them, that they were returned from death to life by the unexpected invitation; although they underſtood well enough, that they were called backe to undergo new troubles, no leſſe than the former. When they were returned to the *Vice-roy* at *Xaokim*, he would have paid the charges the Fathers had been at in building their Church and houſe, which by no means they would ſuffer him to do; and (after ſeverall contraſts) they obtained leave of him to dwell in another City belonging to his Government, called *Xaocheu*. With this permiſſion the Fathers departed from *Xaokim* on the 15th. day of *Auguſt* 1589, and being after a few daies arrived at *Xaocheu*, they had enough to do to avoyd the lodgings, which were offered them in a *Monaſterie* of *Bonzi*. At length by Gods aſſiſtance they were admitted into the City, and were well lookt upon by the *Magiſtrates*; they built a houſe and Church, and began to preach the Goſpel with their whole endeavours. Notwithſtanding that, they were ever accompanied with perſecutions, contraſts and calumnies; and in truth, it is hardly to be beleeved, how many of theſe they did undergo, I did once reckon them up to ſatisfie my curioſitie: counting thoſe which are related in the Hiſtory of Father *Trigaultius*, and others which are not ſet downe there, till the perſecution of *Nankim*, I found them in all to be fifty foure, the greateſt part were at the beginning, and in the Province of *Canton*, which as it is a paſſage to the reſt, may be called the *Promontory of Torments*; ſo that as oft as we ſhall have occaſion to mention it, there will alwaies recurre ſome new troubles and tempeſts.

Our ſervants were many times taken and *Baſtinadoed* for no other occaſion, but that they had defended themſelves againſt aſſaults of the inſolent people; and one time alſo brother *Sebaſtan Fernandes*, who went out to defend thoſe innocents with reaſons and prayers, was put to publique ſhame. But the perſecution was worſe, which brother *Francis Martines* ſuffered through a vaine ſuſpicion they had, that he had attempted to raiſe a rebellion in *China*, and that he was a Magician: upon which occaſion after he had been many times beaten and tormented, and after a tedious and noyſome impriſonment, and in the end, after his laſt puniſhment by an unmercifull beating, being brought back into the priſon, he died, a death ſo much the more glorious, by how much it was ſupported by an unſpeakable patience, and for ſo holy an occaſion, as the procuring the ſalvation of that people was. After that, brother *Francis Mendez*, going to the *Metropolis* of *Canton* upon occaſion of buſineſſe, and to help a ſervant of ours, who was kept there in priſon, ſuffered very much: for being come into the priſon, the *Gaoler* preſently clapt Manacles upon him, and ſuſpecting him to be a Prieſt, pulled off his cap, and ſearched whether his crowne was ſhaven or no: and finding no ſigne of any thing he could lay hold on,

only

only becauſe he was a *Chriſtian*, and belonged to the Fathers, he ſuffered him not to go out of the priſon, till there were beſtowed many cruell Baſtinadoes on him. Likewiſe two Fathers going from *Canton* further up into *China*, that is, Father *Julius Alexis*, and another Father, were apprehended, and after very great ſufferings ſet at libertie.

The Chriſtian Religion began to make ſome progreſſe at our Reſidence of *Xaocheu*; and in another place neere unto it, named *Namhim*, whither Father *Matthæus Riccius* was gone, and had reduced ſome Gentiles to the ſheepfold of Chriſt. But the buſineſſe was ſo full of difficulties and dangers, that brother *Sebaſtian Fernandes*, (although a *Chineſſe* by nation, (but brought up in *Macao* by his Parents who were *Chriſtians*;) and who entred into our ſocietie after he was growne a man, and a rich Merchant, and ſerved therein many years, even to his death, with great paines to himſelfe and a great example to all that Chriſtianitie,) told the Father, we ſhould do well to go to *Giappon*; ſeeing the Lord did favour that Kingdom with ſo great a converſion, and ſo many Baptiſmes, and ſpend our lives there where we might receive abundant fruit of our labours. But the Father, who had a more lively faith, and a hope better grounded, ſeemed to have anſwered him by the ſpirit of propheſie, that which afterwards came to paſſe, giving him hopes of more copious fruit, ſuch as we find at this day: And even at that time alſo, within foure years, wherein he had cultivated that vine-yard, in ſpight of thoſe great Tribulations, he made a good harveſt of many *Chriſtians*; who many times do prove the beſt in times of trouble and perſecution: and there were ſome of them very eminent, with ſome of which I have ſince ſpoken and converſed, who ſeemed to me, to be like *Chriſtians* of the *Primitive* Time; and by degrees there were many more alſo converted.

In the mean while about the year 1594 two perſons of this Houſe departed to a better life; for if the people of this Province are not good, the temper of the aire is much worſe. Till this time, the Fathers had gone in the ſame garbe they entred in, with their beards and the crowne of their heads ſhaven, and their haire cut ſhort, as we weare it here in *Europe*; and there alſo the *Bonzi*, or Prieſts of their Idols, who in that kingdome, contrarie to the cuſtome of others, are in very mean eſteem. But now they were better acquainted with the ſtate of things there, it ſeemed to them to be more advantageous for the credit of our religion, as alſo for the preachers thereof, that they ſhould take a habit different from the *Bonzi*: and that ſeeing they were inwardly unlike them, that they ſhould no longer outwardly reſemble them; eſpecially, ſeeing that firſt outward form was a great impediment to hinder them from treating with *Decorum* and familiarity, with Officers and men of qualitie, who without the veſture of courteſie and habit of a *Letterato*, do by no means admit any one to familiar converſation with them. So that leaving their former garbe and habit, they took the other of *Letterati*, with a great applauſe of the Chriſtians and their friends; as alſo of the *Magiſtrates*; and becauſe they had taken no degree in their learning, they were accounted and eſteemed, (as they are alſo at this day,) for *Letterati* of *Europe*; beſides many other good advantages and effects which it produced.

In

In May the year following, Father *Matthæus Riccius*, went to *Nankim*, in the companie of a *Mandarine*, who was a grave Person and his friend, who went thither with commission to be General in the warre against the *Giapponeses* in the Kingdome of *Corea*; he wanted not troubles by the way, especially in a dangerous shipwrack which he suffered, the barque being overturned, and the Father falling into the water over head and eares, not having any skill in swimming, nor any hope of life. But the Lord assisted him with his paternal providence: for without knowing how it came, there he found a rope of the Barque in his hand, by which he was pulled up: nevertheless he lost his companion, who being carried away by the force and violence of the water, was never more seen.

At length he arrived at *Nankim*; but the houre of that famous Citie was not yet come. Wherefore although some friends there did desire to favour him; yet one, with whom he had contracted in *Cantone*, and whose favour he did now endeavour to gain, was not only wanting to him in what he requested, but was so far changed from what he was, that he put the Father in great danger; and was the occaon, that he was disgracefully sent out of the Citie; and all this upon no other account, but lest it should be said, that he was the occasion of the Fathers coming thither, contrarie to the lawes of *China*.

The Father departed from *Nankim*, and went into the Province of *Kiamsi*, which lieth between that of *Namkim* and that of *Cantone*, he was received into the Capitall Citie thereof, named *Nanchum*, and treated very kindly by the most considerable people there; and especially by a great Lord, named *Kien Gam Vam*, who was the Kings neer kinsman. He was also very courteously used by the *Vice-roy*, with no ordinarie demonstrations of kindnesse; which was none of the least occasions that a residence was founded in this City; then, Father *Riccius* using all diligence to obtain leave to set up a House there, the Lord provided him of a companion, named *Jacobus Socirus*, sent from *Macao* very opportunely to reside there; and then presently they purchased some few small houses in this City; but not without the usuall resistance and contradiction of the neighbourhood, as also from other parts; which in processe of time did so encrease, that this House may well compare with that of *Xaochen* for persecutions: for if the people of that City are bad, truly, they of this City are not very good. The Fathers were sometimes molested by the *Leterati*; otherwhiles by the *Nobilitie*; of which sort there are many still residing in this City: they were troubled also by the people; and sometimes by the Christians themselves. For there is never wanting a Judas to raise persecution among the good disciples. Nevertheless, it pleased God to make that House, and Christianity there to flourish, and to bring into them many persons of qualitie; and particularly that neer Kinsman of the King, with his whole House and Familie; who by his holy life and other vertues did much edifie that Church. And though he had no children, while he was a Gentile, yet it pleased the Lord to send him many, after he was become a Christian. There were also many other Families converted, which, although they were inferiour to his in bloud, yet did they not come much behind him in Christian Pietie.

After

After that Father *Riccius* had a companion, to whose care he might leave that House recommended, he began to undertake afresh the enterprise of *Nankim:* and he had a good opportunitie offered him by a *Mandarine* of qualitie, and his friend, who took him along in his company. By this meanes he returned again to that City in the year 1598. and although at the beginning, by reason of the warre, which the *Giapponesses* made against the Kingdome of *Corea*, threatning also that of *China*, he found great difficultie to be admitted (for these two alwayes go together) yet at length it was facilitated by the good success of *Corea*, and the friendship of some persons of Qualitie, and of the *Vice-roy* himself; the Divine providence alwayes opening that way, which he knew was most secure.

CHAP. 3.

Of what happened after, till the Fathers entred into Pekim.

FAther *Matthæus Riccius* never ceased to endeavour a finall establishment of the Church in that Kingdome; which did wholly depend upon the entrance of the Fathers into the Royall City of *Pekim*, where the King and chief Court do reside: and so after he had assayed diverse meanes, at length he resolved to go thither in the company of the same *Mandarine* his friend, who had brought him to *Nankim*; and so he took no house at that time in *Nankim*. He departed then along with Father *Lazarus Cataneus* his companion, and two *Chinesses* who were Brethren, taking their way by water; which was above a moneths voyage, although the *Mandarine* got thither in a shorter time by land.

But at length being arrived at *Pekim*, without any hinderance or disturbance, the first thing they did, was to go waite upon their friend, who had caused them to come thither, and was arrived there before them. He received them with all kindnesse and civilitie, and endeavoured to favour and assist them in every thing, & especially in recommending them to the acquaintance of an *Eunuch* his friend. The Fathers had brought with them some curiosities of *Europe*, to make a Present of them to the King, to wit, Two excellent Pictures Painted on Linnen cloath, the one of our *Saviour*, the other of the B. *Virgin*; an *Harpsicon*, an instrument which had never been heard; a striking Clock, a thing which had never been seen there before; and some triangular glasses, with all which the *Eunuch* was well pleased: but not finding that gain from the Fathers, which he expected, and which was the only thing he lookt after, he excused himself, that he could not present them to the King, by reason of the troubles of the war, which the *Giapponeses* made upon *Corea*, and which were every day expected in *China*; saying; that it was not a fitting time to speak to the King about strangers affaires. Of the same opinion also was that *Mandarine* their friend, who being to returne to *Nankim*, where he had a Government bestowed upon him, would willingly have carried the Fathers back again with him. But it seemed better to them, that the Hopes which they had

conceived, ſhould not be ſo ſoon loſt; nor ſo much labour and expence be caſt away in vain: wherefore they remained in *Pekim* above a moneth after the departure of the *Mandarine*, uſing all endeavours, and ſeeking out all wayes poſſible, to ſee if they could compaſſe their intention. But all their diligence was in vain; for the *Mandarine* being once gone, all the reſt withdraw themſelves; ſo that there was not one of the *Mandarines* of the Court, that would admit them ſo much as to a Viſite.

The difficulties then being ſo great, and they finding no way to overcome them, the Fathers were forced to returne into that Country, where they were more known, and had been better received; and ſo they came back to *Nankim*, but not with ſo much eaſe, as they thought they ſhould have done. For the Winter overtaking them in their voyage, and the River being frozen up, they were forced to winter by the way.

But Father *Matthæus Riccius*, being loath to loſe any opportunitie, left his companions in the Barque, and took his way by land, avoyding by this meanes the trouble and hinderance of the Wintering, but not the cold of the journey, which was ſo exceſſive, that many times it hindred him from going forward. But at length having overcome all difficulties, he arrived at the Citie of *Sucheu*, which without all contradiction, is the moſt pleaſant and delightfull City of all *China*; ſo that they have a proverbe which ſaith, That the City of *Sucheu* & *Hancheu*, is that upon earth, which the habitation of the bleſſed, is in heaven. It is ſcituated in a pleaſant River of freſh Water, juſt as Venice is in the Sea: it hath the greateſt traffique of all the Kingdome; the Merchandize from *Macao* being firſt brought thither, from whence they are afterwards diſperſed to all other parts.

Here the Father found *Quitaizo*, his ancient friend, in the Province of *Canton*, by whom he was received with all manner of kindneſſe and friendſhip, and was alſo by him introduced and brought into credit with the whole City. And being the Sonne of a principall *Mandarine*, he was a great help to him in gaining the friendſhip of ſeverall *Mandarines* of great authoritie; for which and other good turnes he did us in *Canton* and other places, and eſpecially in *Nankim*, he deſerveth no ſmall commendations and acknowledgment. The Father gave him a triangular glaſſe, which by his friend was taken for ſo precious a Jewel, that he tipt both the ends of it with Gold, and made a Caſe of Silver to put it in; and after ſold it for above 500. Crownes. This honeſt man much deſired, that the Father would ſettle himſelf in that Citie, and found a Houſe there, where he might aſſiſt and promote him with more convenience; propoſing many difficulties which would hinder the reſidence of the Fathers at *Nankim*. Nevertheleſſe, having weighed things better, and taking that reſolution, which was moſt ſuitable to their occaſions, they went both of them to *Nankim*, in the year 1599. where they found the ſtate of affaires much altered from what it was the time before.

The Citie did now enjoy a profound peace and tranquillity, the *Giapponeſes* being beaten back into their own Countrie. The *Mandarine* their friend was very glad of their coming, and did them many ſingular favours, as did alſo many others, both Magiſtrates, and other grave men and perſons of account in that City; particularly a *Coli*, which is a kind of *Cenſor*

Cenſor or *Syndic royall*, named *Choxelim* : wherefore the Father, not only by their conſent, but alſo by their perſwaſion, reſolved to ſettle a reſidence, and found a Houſe in that Noble City, which is the ſecond of the whole Kingdome.

While the Father made his abode there, he gave great proofe of himſelf and of the Sciences of *Europe*; particularly of the *Mathematiques*. He made a new Mappe of the World, with the explanation thereof in the *Chineſſe* language and characters; which gained great reputation, not only to the authour, but alſo to *Europe*; ſeeing there ſuch a multitude of Noble Kingdomes and Cities : ſo that the ſame *Quitaizo*, and others, with very *Solemn Ceremonies*, made themſelves Diſciples to Father *Riccius*. Neither was the authoritie leſſe which the Father gained by the publick Diſputes, which he held concerning matters of Religion, wherein, to the admiration of all the Councels, he ever had the Victorie : ſo that the Fathers came to ſuch a height of reputation, that they were celebrated by many *Letterati* in *Epigrams* and *Elogies*.

In the meane time the companions of Father *Riccius* arrived, after they had wintered by the way, and endured many labours and hardſhips. But when they found the Father, in that City, where a little before he was not only not received, but alſo driven out with ignominie and ſhame, now to have ſuch credit and applauſe, and ſo many friends who favoured him, they forgot all their former ſufferings, and gave moſt hearty thanks to the Lord our God for that preſent proſperitie. Not long after, they began to think of buying an Houſe : for, that wherein they lived, was only hired. Many were offered to them, but ſuch for the moſt part as were inconvenient for them; among which there was one that was very large and capacious, but haunted with *Divells* and *Phantaſmes*, ſo that none durſt dwell in it. This inconvenience uſeth commonly to be advantageous to us; for wee not fearing theſe ſpirits, which vaniſh at the firſt on-ſett, doe commonly purchaſe ſuch houſes at a very low rate; and ſo it happened to Father *Riccius:* wherefore after the bargain and ſale was concluded, the Fathers came over a while to dwell in that houſe, where they lived very quietly without receiving any diſturbance or inconvenience from thoſe ſpirits.

Aſſoon as the Fathers had their Houſe and Church, there were not wanting thoſe who did frequent it. The firſt who was baptized in this City, was an old man of ſeventy years of age, he was a *Noble man*, and had the office of *Chinoci*, whereof we ſpake, when we treated of that *Nobility*, which deſcendeth by way of blood. Preſently his ſonne followed him, who was already a *Letterato*; and was afterward made a great *Mandarine*; and alſo his whole Familie, his Grand-Sonnes and Daughters &c. I knew them many yeares afterwards, when they had made great progreſs in Vertue and Chriſtian Pietie, and are therefore worthy of Eternall memorie, with many particular caſes, whereof we ſhall make mention hereafter. This Familie was followed by others, the number of Chriſtians ſtill encreaſing, as alſo their zeale to good works; eſpecially after the perſecution, whereof we will ſpeak anon. So that it may be ſaid to be the beſt *Chriſtianitie* of *China*, although the moſt perſecuted and moleſted.

The affaires of *Nankim* succeeding thus prosperously, and these good beginnings shewing that that House would not only continue, but also be enlarged and advanced, Father *Riccius* sent one of his companions, F. *Lazarus Cataneus* to *Macao*, partly to give an account to the superiours of what had passed, partly to get some curiosities of *Europe* to make Presents of; and partly to seek out some new companions to labour in that plentifull harvest.

The Father arrived at *Macao* with these glad tidings, which were received with that joy which was fitting; and shortly after, having procured some Presents for the King, and a fresh recruit of other Fathers, he returned to *Nankim*, where Father *Riccius* stayd for him: who having his whole desires set upon *Pekim*, after he had received the Presents, and a fresh supply of companions, deferred no longer to begin his second voyage for *Pekim*; having not only the opinions, but also the propitious assistance of some principall *Mandarines*, in his favour.

It was the sixteenth day of May, in the year 1600. when the Fathers *Matthæus Riccius*, and *Didacus Pantoia*, and brother *Sebastian Fernandes* departed the second time for the Court, in the same manner as before, by water, having accommodation given them in a barque belonging to an Eunuch; who the more he conversed with the Fathers, had still the more affection for them.

Having passed the Province of *Nankim*, and being come into that of *Xantum*, in the City where the *Vice-roy* of that Province doth reside, Father *Riccius* was received with extraordinary respect by that *Vice-roy*. He was visited in the barque, presented, and very much made off. The memoriall, or petition, which he intended to present to the King, was mended for him, and put into a better form; and last of all, he had many letters of recommendation given him to the *Mandarines* of *Pekim*. This *Vice-roy* had had some knowledge of Father *Riccius* by means of a son of his, who had very frequently and familiarly conversed with the Father at *Nankim*, and had heard from him many things concerning our Religion.

Their voyage continued very prosperous, without any considerable obstruction, untill they came to a City, where there was an *Eunuch* named *Mathan*, who was Collectour of the Kings customs and rights, and of many wrongs also, which he did to most passengers, and was accounted a wicked cruell man. He was very often visited by the Eunuch, in whose company the Fathers travelled, with his hands laden with Presents, but could never be admitted, because his gifts were not proportionable to the greedinesse of that *Harpye*. And because the time grew neere, wherein if he came not to Court, he should be in great danger, not only of his goods, but of his life also; he resolved to betray the Fathers, to free himselfe: And to that purpose informed the *Eunuch*, that those strangers carried Presents for the King, which he had seen; adding withall, that they might possibly have other things of greater price, out of which *Mathan* might make a great advantage to himselfe. Upon this occasion the Fathers runne a great hazzard, not only to lose what they had, but also to be killed, being left in the hands of that covetous, cruell wretch. For the Eunuch *Mathan*, although at the beginning he shewed himselfe something

courteous

courteous, yet it was not long, ere it was manifeſt, what intentions he had towards them. Firſt he deſired only to ſee the Preſents which they carried, and accordingly the Fathers ſhewed them him with all courteſie and reſpect: after that, he would needs take the charge upon him of preſenting them to the King: Another time he carried them to his Palace, after that the King had anſwered to his *Memoriall*, that he ſhould write him word, what thoſe things were which came to be preſented to him. Laſt of all, *Mathan* came with above 200 men armed, who were juſt ſo many theeves, and he their Captaine; and without any termes of reſpect, or courteſie, but with a furious countenance, ranſack'd all their goods, and in a great rage laid by whatſoever pleaſed him. When he ſaw any thing that had not been ſhowen him before, he would cry out, as if he had been robbed; but eſpecially he made moſt horrible exclamations, when he had found a *Crucifix*, ſaying, That they were to make uſe of it in their enchantments and conjurations, wherewith they purpoſed to kill the King. To which the Father anſwered with all modeſty, declaring to him the *Sacred myſtery*, which was repreſented by that Image: But the *Eunuch* not admitting of any reaſon at all, cryed out, That ſuch deceivers as they ought to be ſeverely puniſhed. In concluſion, having taken whatſoever liked him, he made an inventary of all, together with the Preſents that were for the King, and ſent them all, along with the Fathers into the Fort, where they had a continuall guard upon them. The Fathers were much dejected by this accident, fearing to loſe in one moment all that they had thitherto gained with ſo much ſweat.

Yet did they not loſe the confidence, which they had in Gods aſſiſtance, whereof they had had ſo frequent experience: and therefore ſeeing themſelves deprived of all humane help, they wholly caſt themſelves into the armes of the divine providence, and with prayers and mortifications, did by a holy violence wreſtle with the divine mercy, that he would vouchafe to turne his eyes toward the ſalvation of ſo many ſoules, that had been redeemed with the precious blood of Chriſt, the which, as it ſeemed probable to them, wholly depended upon the ſucceſſe of that expedition. They ſent a ſervant to the City with letters to another *Eunuch*, wherein they deſired his favour to procure them leave to preſent thoſe things to the King, beleeving, that becauſe it was a buſineſſe, wherein he might gaine favour and eſteeme from the King, the *Eunuch* would very willingly undertake it. But whether it were for feare of *Mathan*, or that he were already pre-poſſeſſed by him, the anſwer was, to miſ-uſe the ſervant both with words, and with blowes.

They ſought yet another expedient to endeavour to get out of that miſery. They writ to a *Mandarine*, who had ſhewed himſelfe very friendly to them, before they fell into this tribulation, and had really favoured them upon ſeverall occaſions: But he alſo ſeeing the letter, was afraid to accept of it; neither would he returne any anſwer; nevertheleſſe he told our ſervant, that the Fathers were in as dangerous a condition as might be: for the *Eunuch* was reſolved to preſent a *Memoriall* to the King againſt them, wherein he would declare, that they did deſigne to take away the Kings life by witchcraft, as alſo many other things in their prejudice, to diſcredit

diſcredit them, and colour his owne impoſture; wherefore his opinion was, that they ſhould endeavour by any means poſſible, to make their eſcape, and to get back againe to *Canton*; and that they ſhould eſteeme it a great gaine to loſe all they had, ſo they might eſcape that death, which hung over them, while they were in the hands of that cruell *Eunuch*. And if they were not either able, or willing, to put this in execution, at leaſt they ſhould endeavour to get a *Memoriall* preſented to the King, by the means of ſome *Mandarine* at Court, who was their friend.

You may well imagine, in what condition the Fathers were at this meſſage, and how apprehenſive they were of the danger they were in: yet would they not accept of the firſt counſell, leſt, being innocent, they might make themſelves guilty by their flight; eſteeming it a leſſe misfortune, to ſuffer for righteouſnes ſake, than to give occaſion to thoſe who knew them not, to believe thoſe things probable, which the *Eunuch* layd to their charge. But the ſecond counſell ſeemed more reaſonable unto them, and therefore they preſently diſpatched toward the Court Brother *Sebaſtian Fernandes* with letters to their friends, to give them an account of the condition they were in: But as in ſuch caſes, there are few friends to be found, ſo there was none there, who would give them any aſſiſtance, wherefore the brother returned without having done any thing. Then did the Fathers well perceive, that there was now no longer any remedy left them in their owne induſtrie, in their friends, and in humane counſells; neither would they try any other means, but ſubmitting themſelves wholly to the will of God, did cheerfully expect what iſſue the Lord would be pleaſed to ſend them of their buſineſſe.

Six months had the Fathers remained in that impriſonment, expecting the aſſiſtance of the Lord, by whom only they could be ſuccoured. When beyond all thought of theirs, and without their knowledge, there cometh a decree from the King, wherein they are called to Court, with their Preſent. They ſay, the King himſelfe one day, without being put in minde of it by any body, calling to his remembrance the *Eunuchs Memoriall*, asked where that Bell was, which range of it ſelfe; and which, as they tell me, is brought me by a ſtranger? To which the *Eunnch*, who always waiteth upon him, anſwered, That it was not yet come to Court, becauſe his Majeſty had not given order for it to come. Whereupon the King preſently gave order for it, and *Mathan* was forced againſt his will to ſend the Fathers with their Preſent, and the reſt of their goods. They began then to take heart againe, and forgetting all their former troubles, they immediatly ſet out upon their journy; and becauſe they could not do it by water by reaſon the river was frozen up, they tooke their way by land, receiving from the *Mandarines*, at the Kings expence, whatſoever they had need of, both for their owne perſons, as alſo for the carriage of their goods.

CHAP.

CHAP. 4.

The Fathers enter into Pekim, *and ſettle there.*

THe Fathers entred into *Pekim* on the fourth day of January 1601. where they were well received, and entertained in a Palace, which an *Eunuch* had lent them for that purpoſe. They made ready their Preſent, and the day following with a great traine and *Parade*, the *Eunuchs* carried it into the Palace, and preſented it to the King; who made great account of every thing. He did highly prize the pictures of our *Saviour* and of the *Bleſſed Virgin*; he much admired the *Harpſicon*; and preſently gave order, that ſome of the *Eunuchs* ſhould learne to play upon it. When he came to the Clock, which was a piece of much skill and workmanſhip, and an invention altogether unknowne to the *Chineſſes*, becauſe he knew it ſtruck the houres of its owne accord, and that at preſent it was not in order, not ſo much as to be ſhewed, he commanded that the Fathers ſhould preſently come into the Palace, and ſet it a going. So they were called in haſte, and admitted within the ſecond wall (for within the third and fourth, none may enter, unleſſe it be the *Eunuchs*, and the Souldiers of the night-guard,) where by the Kings order given to one of the chiefe *Eunuchs*, the Fathers were received and entertained with all magnificence and courteſie.

They ſtayed there three daies, partly fitting the Clock to ſerve for the preſent; (for afterwards for the greater ſtate there was a Tower of wood made for it of much coſt and workmanſhip,) partly in teaching foure *Eunuchs* how to ſet and order it; and partly in ſatisfying ſuch demands, as were made them concerning *Europe*, what kinde of Countrie it was, what Kingdoms, what people, what cuſtomes it had, and a thouſand other particularities, which were all afterwards by the *Eunuchs* related to the King, who was much delighted therewith, ſeeming to be very much ſatisfied with every thing: he much deſired to ſee the Fathers, but becauſe he would not change the ancient ſtile and cuſtome of the Kingdom, according to which the King is never to be ſeen by any ſtranger, he cauſed their pictures to be drawne at length, contenting himſelfe, to ſee only the figures of thoſe men, of whom he himſelfe might not be ſeen.

All things ſucceeded proſperouſly, by reaſon of the great ſatisfaction, which all they of the Palace received from the Fathers; and eſpecially by reaſon of the contentment the King tooke in every thing; and the delight with which he received the Preſents; ſo that now all ſeemed to be ſecure, and that there was nothing more to feare. But there being no ſecurity, or calme, that is long laſting in this world, the Fathers quickly found themſelves in new troubles; the occaſion whereof was a *Mandarine* of the *Tribunal Lipu*, to whom it belonged by vertue of his office, to have had the Preſent brought to him, and by his means, to have had it preſented to the King, he being to aſſiſt at all Embaſſies, and Preſents, that are offered to his Majeſtie. He therefore taking it ill, that the Fathers, who knew nothing

thing of this, had made uſe of the *Eunuchs* to carry their Preſent to the King, contrary to the ordinary ſtile of the Court, and without making any mention of thoſe Officers, preſently fell upon the weakeſt part, and commanded the Fathers to be apprehended, and put into the *Houſe of ſtrangers*, in a more diſcourteous manner than was uſuall. The Officers and Sergeants having uſed more inſolence in the apprehending them, than perhaps they were commanded to doe. Upon this occaſion they were brought before the *Tribunal*, and examined in publick, although by their anſwers their cauſe was ſufficiently juſtified, and the paſſion of the Judge ſomething moderated.

They had not been above three daies, when they were ſent for thence to the palace, to perform the ordinary *Ceremonies* in the Court of courteſies, whereof we have ſpoken in the firſt part. The very ſame day they were againe examined by the publick Notaries, by order of the ſame Preſident concerning many other things. The poynt they moſt inſiſted on, was; to what end they were come into *China*: what their intentions were, and what they did pretend by the Preſent which they had given the King? The Fathers judged it neceſſary to anſwer cleerly and in forme; and therefore told them, That they came to preach the law of the true God, who was ſole Lord and Governour of heaven and earth. And that they had brought that Preſent to the King, not that they did pretend any thing by it, either office, dignitie, or recompence, but as a Teſtimony of the obedience they ought him, having been inhabitants, for ſo many years, of that Kingdom; and that all they did deſire, was to have leave to live and die in that Court, or in any other part of the Kingdom, which the King ſhould thinke fit, as they had already lived there many years.

The Notaries having drawne up this anſwer, carried it to the *Preſident*, who having ſeen and conſidered it, drew up his *Memoriall* thereupon to the King, partly in favour of the Fathers, and partly againſt them. But the King being well affected towards them, becauſe there was ſomething in it againſt the Fathers, gave no anſwer to it; which is there the ſame thing as to reject it: But the Fathers underſtood by the *Eunuchs*, that the King was much troubled, when he knew, they were kept as priſoners in the *Houſe* of *ſtrangers*.

The *Mandarine* ſeeing there was no anſwer given to his petition, preſently judged the King was inclined to favour the ſtrangers, wherefore he thought it fit to change his ſtile towards them, uſing them with all courteſie and kindenes, and commanded they ſhould be better provided for in every thing, than the reſt of the ſtrangers, who were kept there. And contrary to the law and cuſtome of that reſtraint, he gave them libertie to go into the City about their affaires, and to viſit their friends. But withall he preſented a ſecond *Memoriall* to the King concerning the Fathers, wherein he did not only ſay nothing againſt them, but poſitively commended their perſons, and their good behaviour, and manner of life: only there was this evill in it, that he beſought him to ſend them away from *Pekim*, becauſe it was againſt his lawes, that ſtrangers ſhould inhabit in the Court. But becauſe the *Eunuchs*, who had care of the Clock, were afraid of the abſence of the Fathers, becauſe the ordering of it depended on their

directions,

directions, and the King also had a desire they should stay, this second *Memoriall* likewise received no answer.

In the meane while the Fathers, having libertie to go abroad when they pleased, frequently Visited the *Mandarines*, made new friends, and treated with those of the Councel of Rites, called *Lipu*, before whom their businesse was, that they would be pleased in their Memorialls, to signifie that they thought it fit that the Fathers should be permitted to reside in *Pekim*; telling them, that they might plainly perceive, that the king refused to give an answer to them, because he was willing they should stay there. But they still obstinately opposed that point; and accordingly in their third, and many other *Memorials*, which they presented concerning the Fathers, although in the whole or at least the greater part they seemed to favour them; yet in that, which concerned their stay at Court, they were alwayes excluded; but in the like manner the kings answer was alwayes suspended, there never comming any decree from him, eyther for or against them.

The Fathers perceiving this long delay, and whence it came, desired in the meane time to be freed from that restraint, which is imposed upon all strangers; wherefore they obtained by meanes of certain *Mandarines*, who were their friends, the favour to be discharged from that place, untill the King should returne his answer unto the fore-said *Memorials*, and to have leave to hire a House for themselves. This was a new thing and wholy different from the Stile of *China*, and therefore so difficult that it was accounted impossible to be done without a particular order from the King. But when God would have it so, all things are easily brought about; and so this licence was obtained, rather as a thing granted from Heaven, than acquired by humane industrie on earth. The Fathers then had ful leave to go out of that walled place: they hired a House, and began to live in it, as if they had been natives of that Countrie,

The Fathers then seeing themselves in that condition which was much better than what they could hitherto obtain, presently endeavoured with all their might to get their settlement at the Court secured, that none might be able to trouble them any more upon that account; understanding very well, how much the securitie of their other houses depended upon their personall residence at that Court. Nevertheless with all the diligence that they themselves, and severall *Mandarines* their friends, could use, they were never able to obtain a decree for it: it is true, they were assured by the *Eunuches*, that the King had said, that they might dwel securely at the Court, and that they should by no meanes think of returning to the Southern Provinces; for if they did, he should be displeased at it.

This answer was very sufficient, and being authorized with the Kings name, served instead of a decree absolutely to secure their habitation there: another favour also being added to this, by which it was more confirmed, and that was the appointing by the Kings own order, to have a competent pension allowed the Fathers out of his exchequer, for the maintenance of themselves, and foure Servants, which allowance they were to receive quarterly. By these favours, and the friendship of the *Eunuches* of the Palace, and of some principall *Mandarines*, their habitation

was not only ſecured, but brought into ſuch credit, that their friends encreaſed dailie, and the people flocked continually to our Houſe, ſome to ſee ſtrangers, ſome to heare ſomething concerning our *Sciences*, and ſome to underſtand the truth of our holy Law: and this was that which was moſt pleaſing to the Fathers, and moſt profitable to the *Chineſſes*.

Among the Principall *Mandarines*, who at this beginning contracted friendſhip with the Fathers, there was one, who was named *Ligo Zun*. He was a Native of the City of *Hamcheu*, a man of great Talents and ingenuitie, and was known to be ſuch through the whole Kingdome; at the examinations for the degree of *Doctour*, where in that degree is given to about 300, he obtained the fifth place, which is a very great reputation among them. He was extreamly curious, and being aſſiſted by his own naturall ingenuitie, and the friendſhip of Father *Matthæus Riccius*, he learned many curioſities in the *Mathematiques*. He tranſlated ſeverall of the Fathers Books into the *Chineſſes* language; and whileſt he was yet a *Gentile* he put our Catechiſme into an excellent Stile. It is reported of him, that when he was Compoſing of it, ſeeing the powerful reaſons which were brought in that Book to prove the Sanctitie of our Religion, that although he did not believe them to be true, he cryed out, *what an excellent piece is this* and *how accurately Compoſed!* But in time he began to penitrate better into them, and at length acknowledging them to be true, he reſolved to become a *Chriſtian:* but his deſire not being capable to be put in effect at that time in his own perſon, by reaſon of that inconvenience of his having many Wives (which in *China* is the ordinarie hindrance and obſtruction in men of that *Qualitie*) nevertheleſſe he would have his whole Familie Baptized; and he himſelf, after he had ſetled and jouſted his affaires, as was requiſite for that purpoſe, was Chriſtened alſo, and named *Leo*; and is the ſame who is ſo frequently mentioned in the yearly Letters, for his Pietie and zeal, and for being one of the Supporters and Pillars of that Chriſtianitie, carrying himſelf in ſuch manner, that by his example and perſwaſion he gained many perſons of Qualitie to our holy faith; among which number a grave perſon, named *Michael*, was one, who is alſo often mentioned in the letters; and of whom we ſhall ſpeak, when it commeth to his turne.

When he was now become a *Chriſtian*; he governed in ſeverall places of the Kingdome, but alwayes with that obſervance, which was due to the Religion he profeſſed. Among other honourable employments, he had the Office of *Tauli* (which is a place of great honour and profit) in the Citie of *Caoyeu* in the Province of *Nankim*, he found in the Palace there, a Chappel full of Idols, which the curioſity, or devotion of his predeceſſours, had preſerved and adorned with extraordinarie care and and coſt. The devout *Leo* judging it not convenient to have ſuch ill company in the Houſe where he dwelt, commanded his Servants, to throw down thoſe Idols from the Alters where they ſtood, and to hew them to pieces with Hatchets, and after that they were given to the Cook, to conſume them in the fire with all their Gold about them. The officers of his Tribunall, as Secretaries, Sergeants, and others were aſtoniſhed at it, and looking one upon another, ſaid, ſure our *Caoye*, (for ſo they call their

their *Mandarine*) *is out of his witts*; not understanding that indeed he had shewed this more in that particular, than in any other.

After he had served his King many years, he thought good to retire himselfe, that he might more fervently & devoutly serve the King of heaven. He went therefore to his house in the City of *Hamcheu*, where he dedicated himselfe with his whole heart to the affairs of his salvation. He built a new Church and House for the Fathers, which was very requisite in so vast and populous a City, although we had then another there at the same time. This stood so neer his owne House, that it gave him a continual occasion to converse very frequently with the Fathers, which was his only delight. And that he might wholly employ himself in the Service of that new Christianity, he gave himselfe to Translate our Books; which is an excellent way to introduce the understanding of our Sciences, and with them the knowledge of our holy Faith. To this end he requested to have one of the Fathers alwayes with him, who might give himselfe wholly to that employment. There was assigned him accordingly, Father *Franciscus Furtado*, by whose assistance he composed those books *de Cœlo*, and Printed them at his own charges, with the great applause of all *China*. He undertook afterwards to have set out a *Logick*, which he had finished and reviewed, & was ready for the presse, when the Lord was pleased to give him the recompence of his pious zeal, by calling him to a better life, after he had received the *Sacrament*, and testified much resentment of the Mercy of God, and many hopeful signs of his owne salvation.

Returning now to the Fathers, whom we left at Court; there, where their Affairs prospered every day more and more, the Lord being pleased to comfort them, by letting them see the fruit of their labours, by advancing the esteem of our Holy Faith every day more than other among the *Gentiles*, many continually turning *Christians*, and the reputation of the Idols growing every day lesse and lesse, by reason of the many disputes, which the professours of their Sects, held with the Fathers, wherein they were not only vanquished, but even confounded by the Truth.

CHAP. 5.

Of the proceedings and ruine of our House at Xaocheu.

WHilest our affaires at Court prospered, and the Fathers used their utmost endeavours to settle their abode there, in the meane time the Fathers, who resided in the houses of the other Provinces, omitted no opportunitie to promote the preaching of the holy Gospel; and had very good fruit of their labour: neither did the enemy of mankind cease to shew how much he resented, to have so many soules taken out of his clutches; neyther was he slow to invent new disturbances and troubles.

The House which we had in the Province of *Canton*, in the City of *Xaocheu*, increased every day in the number of new *Christians*, and in the

remarkable converſions of many conſiderable perſonages; among whom were three *Mandarines*, in the manner of their behaviour, with examples of vertue far ſurpaſſing the carriage of *Neophytes*, or new Converts. In fine, there was a great Gate opened to the Goſpel, but in like manner to many adverſaries alſo.

Father *Nicolaus Longobardus* was employed in this converſion; and when he endeavoured with the greateſt fervour and zeale to drive all Idols out of the Houſes of the *Gentiles*, behold there cometh one into his Houſe, brought upon mens Shoulders in a long proceſſion; who, with a great deale of noiſe and ſtirre, demand Almes for the Fabrique of a Temple, that was to be built for it. Every one ſeeth the danger of that demand, but Chriſtian valour expoſing it ſelf to all events, did valiantly repulſe that charge: and although the noiſe was great, the demand importunate, and their out-cries reaching even to heaven, yet the Lord not permitting them to do any other violence, they went their wayes without getting any thing of him.

In the Villages, the *Letteratie* were ſtark mad againſt the Chriſtians. In the Citie the report was every where divulged, that in their journey to *Pekim*, the Fathers, who went toward the Court, were apprehended and impriſoned by the *Eunuch Mathan*, out of whoſe hands, if ever they went alive, it would be after a very ſevere chaſtiſement. And as the Devill makes his advantage of every thing, there was added to this another worſe report, by reaſon the Scene was laid neerer hand; which was, That our Fathers were baniſhed out of the Citie of *Xaokim*, and that all they who had turned *Chriſtians*, were apprehended and chaſtiſed. It is not to be beleeved how much this newes diſturbed the people, and troubled the Fathers; and ſo much the more, by reaſon this prattle had ſome foundation of truth. But as truth doth ſtill prevaile in the end, ſo this tribulation laſted not very long; but ſeemed rather to give place to new troubles, which were prepared againſt us.

There happened to be a great drought that year, and the *Gentiles* had many times offered Prayers and Sacrifices unto their *Pagods*, but all was to no effect: and not knowing what to do more, they conſulted with an old woman, who was a *Pythoniſſe*, asking her the reaſon, why it did not raine, and why the *Pagods* did not give an ear to their juſt prayers in that common neceſſitie. She anſwered, becauſe there are many, who burn the Ribs of *Con Him* (which is the name of a Female Idoll,) meaning thereby, that they who turned *Chriſtians* did burn the *Idols* which formerly they worſhipped in their Houſes: with this anſwer of the old woman, as if ſhe had been an oracle, it is not to be beleeved, into what fury and madneſſe the *Gentiles* fell: ſo that if they did not ſet fire on the Chriſtians Houſes, it was only for feare of the *Mandarines*. but they ſwore to kill the Father, if ever he came againe.

In the Citie the *Bonzi* not being able any longer to endure, nor diſſemble the rage which they had conceived againſt the Fathers, nor to ſee the ſmoke of the Idols, which were burnt every day by thoſe who were converted, conſpiring with many more of the people, reſolved to put an end once for all to this buſineſſe, they framed a divelliſh Petition, wherein they

they touched ſuch poynts, that were able to put fear into any Magiſtrate whatſoever; and ſo much the more, becauſe ſome of thoſe things, which they ſaid there were true, at leaſt in part, and could not be denied; as that they were ſtrangers; that they perſwaded people to live after their way, and to obſerve their law; that they aſſembled congregations, which is a dangerous thing in *China*, for feare of Inſurrections. To theſe they added many other things, in confirmation of their opinion. The *Memoriall* was preſented to the Officers, neither was it received with an ill will. But the Lord, who alway aſſiſteth his ſervants, and with his divine Providence helpeth them out of their greateſt ſtraits, kept a ſtrong winde in readines to diſſipate theſe clowds.

This was a grave *Mandarine*, who exerciſed the office of *Tauli* in that City, who undertooke our defence; and with a ſpeeeh which he made to the *Mandarines* and the people, concerning the probity and honeſty of the Fathers, of their good manner of life and converſation, and of the ſecurity which was in them, quieted and appeaſed this tempeſt. Of ſo great power upon all occaſions is the authority of one who governeth: and in this particularly, wherein, according to their manner of Government, one would have thought, that this *Tauli*, ſhould have been our greateſt adverſary, it pleaſed the Lord by his means ſo farre to quiet all diſturbances, that they made no ſmall advantage, even of theſe temptations.

Their affaires continued thus, between tempeſts and calmes; which latter commonly were of the ſhorter continuance: and to conclude the Hiſtory of this Houſe, I will only relate two notable paſſages concerning it.

About this time the *Hollanders* did infeſt *India*, and were come as farre as *China* with a deſigne to gaine a Port in that Kingdom, and particularly to take, if they could, the City of *Macao*, as they did afterwards attempt to do, according as I have already related. Upon this occaſion that City reſolved to fortifie it ſelfe, as afterward it did, and although the deſigne did not take effect at that time, yet thoſe beginnings and preparations of warre were ſufficient to make the *Chineſſes*, (who are timorous and ſuſpicious even by nature) to beleeve that the *Portugheſſes* had ſome deſigne on foot againſt them. This ſuſpicion was encreaſed by the coming of Father *Lazarus Catanæus* out of *China* to *Macao* at the ſame time. He was a man ſomewhat corpulent by nature, and of a tall ſtature, and of a bold and lively mind or aſpect, and was now become more venerable by reaſon of his long beard; ſo that to any one who was not acquainted with him, he ſeemed fitter to carry a Pike than a Breviary. The *Chineſſes* were perſwaded that this Father had a deſigne, to make himſelfe Maſter of their Kingdom, and that the *Portugheſſes* had choſen him for their Captain in that enterpriſe; partly in conſideration of his perſon, and partly for the knowledge he had of the waies in that Country, by reaſon he had been in both the Courts; adding with all, that there would arrive very ſhortly two Armies to their aſſiſtance, one from *India* of *Portugheſſes*, the other from *Giappon* of *Giapponeſſes*, who are their deadly enemies: and that the Fathers, who were the companions of Father *Lazarus*, were gone before into the Kingdom, partly as ſpies, and partly to ſtirre up the people to take part

with

with their deſignes. A malicious but ridiculous invention of the Devil, as if 4 or 5 poore religious men, with a handfull of *Chriſtians*, had been able to conquer ſo powerfull a Kingdom.

This rumour began by little and little, till at length, (as is uſuall in ſuch caſes) it grew ſo ſtrong in the beliefe of the *Chineſſes*, that as many of them as dwelt in *Macao*, either Merchants or Inhabitants, fled all away to *Canton*. Whereupon they of the Province of *Canton* gave themſelves for half loſt, and being filled with frights and terrours, they made no queſtion but the buſineſſe was very certain. The newes had already arrived to the *Vice-roys* eares, who in haſt made great levies both for ſea and land. In the principall City of the Province, all the Houſes were cauſed to be pulled downe, which were built along the wall on the outſide, which were very many, and the poore people received an exceſſive loſſe by it. The gates which opened towards *Macao* were walled up with lime and ſtone, and upon the walls were placed Sentinells to keep watch both night and day. A proclamation was publiſhed, which under very great penalties did prohibite all manner of commerce with *Macao*, and that no ſtranger whatſoever ſhould be admitted, and in particular not Father *Catanæus*, who was he, that was to make himſelfe King. In this manner was the *Metropolis* inflamed with a military heat, while the neighbouring Cities were ready to die for feare.

Who would ever have doubted, that a fire ſo unfortunately begun, ſhould not have reached as farre as our Reſidence of *Xaocheu*, a City of the ſame Province, and not very farre from the *Metropolis*, and ſhould not there have burnt up whatſoever it found in it, together with all our other Houſes in that Kingdom? They ruſhed ſuddenly into the Houſe with ſuch a fury as you may eaſily believe them to be in upon ſuch occaſion: they made a very ſtrickt ſearch, and turned every thing upſide downe, to ſee if they could finde any armes, and having not found what they ſought for, having imagined to finde a *Magazine* or Armory there, the tumult began to ceaſe, and the people went out of the Houſe: nevertheleſſe they ſet guards upon us for their greater ſecuritie; and from this time that fire began to be extinguiſhed.

The *Vice-roy* had already given order to the Captain Generall of that Province, whom they call *Tum Pim*, that with all the ſtrength of the Country he ſhould fall upon *Macao*, and that he ſhould ſack and deſtroy it. But he, like a prudent man, would not put himſelfe upon an enterpriſe of ſo much hazzard and danger (for the *Portugheſſes* would not have ſuffered themſelves to have been ſo eaſily deſtroyed, as they ſhewed afterwards againſt the *Hollanders*, a people of another manner of valour than the *Chineſſes*) before he had received better and more certain information. Therefore he ſent ſpies to *Macao*, who went up and downe the City very freely; for by reaſon they had no ſuſpicion of any thing, all paſſages were free and open. When the ſpies had remained in all libertie in *Macao*, as long as they though fit, they returned with certain intelligence, that there was not any preparation for warre in *Macao*, no levies of Souldiers, nor any ſigne of that newes, which had been ſpread abroad; but all was in peace & quietneſſe, ſave only that the City was divided into two factions, by reaſon of ſome particular quarrels.

upon

Upon this intelligence he did forbeare to put the *Vice-roys* orders in execution, and in the mean time things began to be better cleared, and the truth to appeare. The Citizens of *Canton* did open their gates, and their feares began to blow over and every thing to settle in a great deale of quietnes, which was much promoted by the coming of that *Mandarine*, of whom we have formerly made mention, that he did appease another tumult against the Fathers in the City of *Xaocheu*. He had been at the Court, and was returned from thence, upon the occasion of his being promoted to an Office. He, upon the acquaintance he had formerly had with the Fathers, and especially by reason of the new friendship he had contracted with the Fathers at *Pekim*, with whom he had had a very great familiarity, absolutely setled all those distempers there for that time; for this Province is like a Turbulent sea, for there, stormes are never wanting, one still succeeding another, untill they had utterly ruined our House at *Xaocheu*.

It was the year of our Lord 1613, when the people of this City, after many contrasts, (whether it were that their sinnes did render them unworthy of those mercies the Lord would have conferred on them, or that the Lord was pleased by this means to provide the Fathers a more quiet and secure abode) conspired in that violent manner against the Fathers, that the *Mandarines*, (not being able to resist the fury of the *Litterati*, the *Bonzi*, and the common people, who with one accord cryed out against the strangers,) did banish them by a publick sentence pronounced against them, which notwithstanding had thus much of good in it to them, that the banishment was not out of the Kingdom, as they did very much feare it would be, but seemed rather a confinement to detain them in the Kingdome.

They pillaged our house, and committed other such insolences, as are usuall upon the like sentences, and with such persons. They placed over the doore in signe of their victory a stone with a long inscription on it against the Fathers, and our holy faith. But when things began to close, the *Christians* procured one night to have it peckt over with an iron toole, and so defaced it, that it was never after to be read.

The Fathers departed from that City with great contentment of the *Gentiles*, and a greater resentment of the *Christians* who wept all downe right: and going up the river towards the North, they arrived in a few daies at *Mount Muilin*, where the Source and Head of that river riseth. At the foot thereof lyeth the City of *Namhium*, which terminateth that Province. Here the Lord was pleased, that their Barque should rest, like that of *Noah* on the Mountaines of *Armenia*. And without asking any leave, or desiring the favour of any *Mandarines*, only putting their trust in the Lord, they hired a house in that City, (where it was not hard for them to find one for their turne) without the molestation or prohibition of any one whatsoever; for when the Lord will have a thing come to passe, all is easie, even without pains and industry. There they lived with that little which they had saved out of their shipwrack at *Xaocheu*, and drest up a Chappell in their house: and as the report of the arrivall of these strangers began to raise their curiosity, so the concourse of the people, and their visits to them did open a doore to the preaching of the Gospell.

So

So that Father *Gasper Ferrera*, who had been with them in the late troubles, presently began to baptize some of them. And the year following, as I passed by that place, to go to *Nankim*, there was, although not a numerous, yet a good and well instructed *Christianitie*, who enjoyed all peace and quietnesse, untill the year 1616, when the persecution at *Nankim* began.

CHAP. 6.

Of the progress of the Christian religion at the two residencies of Nancham *and* Nankim, *and of the death of Father* Mattheus Riccius.

THe Fathers *Emmanuel Dias*, and *Joannes Soerius* laboured with very good fruit in the residence of *Nancham*, which is the principall City of the Province of *Kiamsi*: and although the greatest part of the *Christians* were but of the common people, yet there were some also of the *Nobilitie*, and of the *Kings kindred*, who were baptized, and carried themselves very exemplarily to the edification of all the rest. I have since known some of them, who did very much benefit that *Christianitie* by the good pattern and example of their lives; and when I departed from *China*, *Don Pedro* was then living, who is so often mentioned in the yearly letters, for having carried himselfe like a good *Christian* upon all occasions, and even in the torments which he sustained with great constancy; his house many times affording a Sanctuary to the Fathers, and a Church to the *Christians*, who went commonly thether during their troubles, and persecutions, which were not wanting there; neither did they faile to produce that fruit, which they are wont to do in new *Christianities*.

There dwell in this City many of the Kings kindred, who for the most part are very insolent; partly by reason of the authority of their blood, and partly by reason of the idle and easie life they lead. These did often give the fathers much trouble, and one time were resolved to surprize the house, where they lived, and to turne them out of the City, and had proceeded so farre in it, that there is no doubt, but that they had put their purpose in execution, had not the Governour of the City been changed; who having ended his time resigned his place to another, who although he was new in that Office, yet was not new in the acquaintance of the Fathers.

The *Litterati* (who when they have only taken their first degree of *Bachelour*, are another sort of troublesome people) had undertaken to oppose the *Christian* religion, and to persecute the Preachers thereof; as accordingly they did many times, but once in particular, many of them conspiring together to pluck up this evill weede, as they called it, by the roots, framed a *Memoriall*, wherein they named some of the Fathers by their names, and affirmed that they were *Traytours* to the King, and that upon this designe they had dispersed themselves into five severall Provinces.

That

that they kept a constant correspondence one with another; that they went up and down the Rivers to rob and assassinate the people; that they taught men not to reverence the Images of their ancestors, and not to worship the *Pagods*, but brake and burned them; that they seduced the ignorant people, and taught them to worship a *Moor* (for so in that Province they call the *Europæans*) saying, that he was the true God; that they made assemblies and meetings, and hindred people from following their businesse; that they had almost perverted the whole Citie; and though at the beginning there were but a few of their Sect, yet now they were multiplyed to 20000. In fine, they said many other things, which sounded so ill, that there was none who doubted but that they would be sufficient wholly to extirpate the *Fathers*; beside their adversaries were many, united in one Body, and *Litterati* too, who knew very well how to use their pen, and are commonly the better heard for that reason.

They presented their *Memoriall* to the *Magistrates*, who received it, and cited the *Fathers* to their *Tribunal*, where they were examined about their life and manners, and concerning the doctrine, which they preached. They gave an account of themselves, and were also very well heard. They brought along with them the *Catechism* which they taught, printed in the *Chinesse* Language, and presented it to the *Mandarines* in stead of a *Memoriall*. This was so well looked upon, that they, not only admired therein the foundation and principle of all vertues, but also greatly praised the precepts of the *Ten Commandments*. In fine, the businesse went so well, and so contrary to what their adversaries did hope and expect, and so much in favour of the *Fathers*, that the *Law of God* was publickly commended and approved by the very *Gentiles* themselves; and the abode of the Fathers in that City confirmed by a publique sentence, and drawn up in writing, which till that time could never be obtained; and the *Crosse* of *Christ* triumphed in spite of all the Devils in Hell; and from thence forward they that were Christians already, enjoyed all the liberty they could desire, and they that had a mind to turne Christians, could do it without any caution or secrecie: and truly there were many of them that proved examples of great edification; and though I do purposely forbear to mention them for brevities sake, yet I will relate one belonging to the same residence, because it was told me by the same *Christian* himself, a little before my departure for *Europe*.

I was standing one day, in the *Church* which we have in this City, when I saw a man come in thither to say his prayers, and not knowing him, I stayed till he came out, and then I asked him, who he was: He answered, *Father*, I am a Christian, and was born in this City, but am by profession a Merchant in *Nankim*, and at certain times I come hither to see my Parents, & then I come to *Church* according to my dutie. I asked him; who did Baptize him? He answered me, Father *John della Rocca*: And it was, said he, in this manner; I had been sickly many yeares, and had spent all my poor fortune upon the Physitians without receiving any help from them, my friends used to visit me, and among them two *Christians*, who one day being moved with compassion towards me, told me that I should do well to turn *Christian*, and it might be, that the Lord would grant me

my health. I anſwered them, If your God would reſtore me my health, I am content to turn *Chriſtian*. They went preſently to the *Father* to ask him for a little Holy water, to give me to drink, hoping that it would have a good effect. But the *Father* anſwered them, If he have a deſire to turn *Chriſtian*, let him do it, and our Lord will ſend him health, if it be his pleaſure; and if he do not, yet at leaſt let him take care of the health of his Soule, which is more neceſſary than that of the body. As for miracles, the Lord doth them only when he pleaſeth; and if upon this occaſion he ſhould not do a *Miracle*, then would that *Gentile* deſpiſe and undervalue our religion. They returned to me ſufficiently diſconſolate, but I was much more dejected when I heard that anſwer. About two dayes after, the ſame two *Chriſtians* being with me, there came in another called *Peter*, with whom I was alſo acquainted; and he was a very zealous and fervent *Chriſtian*. They told him what had happened to them with the *Father*; but he replyed, What need have we of the Father for this matter? I have holy water my ſelf at home; let us give him ſome of it, and I hope our Lord will grant him his health. He went preſently home, and fetched a little of it; they gave it me, and I drank it; and not long after I perfectly recovered; and that which many medicines were not able to do in ſo many years, the *Holy water* did in a very ſhort time. I went preſently to *Church*, to render thanks to the Lord for that great mercy he had ſhewed me; and after I had been well *Catechiſed* and inſtructed in the principall matters of our *Holy Faith*, *I was Baptized*.

I have made choiſe of this example in particular, becauſe it was related to me by the perſon himſelf, to whom it happened, although there never wanted many others of the like kind, wherewith the Lord doth favour that *Church*, ſtrengthen the *Chriſtians*, and comfort the Preachers thereof.

The Reſidence of *Nankim* did this while enjoy a perfect peace and tranquilitie; and the Fathers gained a great deale of credit and reputation, and were much eſteemed by ſeverall of the *Magiſtrates*, who did greatly favour them. The number and devotion of the Faithfull encreaſed every day; and for the greater help thereof there was founded a congregation of the *B. Virgin*, with thoſe effects and fruits, which are uſually obtained by her.

Diverſe perſons of very conſiderable qualitie did preſent themſelves to receive *Holy Baptiſm*; among whom *Kui Tai Zo* was one; who indeed was worthy of all praiſe, for the great paines he took in this Citie to aſſiſt the *Fathers*, and for the many advantages he gained them by his authoritie. This man, notwithſtanding that he was our intimate friend, did ſtill perſiſt in his *Heatheniſme*, and although he commended our *Holy Law*, and approved the Truth and Certainty thereof, yet he thought it very troubleſome to obſerve; a conceit which doth uſually with-hold very many from the undertaking of it. But at length having overcome himſelf and all other difficulties, he was Baptized, and called *Ignatius*, making his confeſſion and publick profeſſion ſo reſolute and devoutly, that he did much comfort the *Fathers*, and encourage the reſt of the Faithfull: neither was he content only to recite it, but gave it in writing as a pledg of his determi-

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nate resolution, the which for the publick edification I have thought fit to insert in this place, and it saith thus.

Kui Ignatius *born in the second Moon of the year called* Ciea, *(which was about the month of* March, *in the year* 1549) *in the Citie of* Ciancieu, *of the Countrie of* Sucieu, *in the Province of* Nankim, *in the Kingdom of* Tamin *(for so they call the Kingdome of* China) *I being drawn by a profound consideration, and moved by a most sencible sorrow for my sinnes, do desire to ask pardon of almightie God, that he might give me the saving water of* Baptism *for to cancell them, and that he would grant me sufficient grace to enter into his most* Holy Law. *I consider with my self, that being now* 57 *years of age, I have had eyes all this while, and yet have never looked into his* Holy Law: *I have had eares, and yet have never heard of his* Sacred Name; *but on the contrary have followed the Sect of* Scechia (which is the name of a very famous Idoll) *and although I understood, that it was repugnant both to truth and reason, I did very much enlarge and spread abroad that superstition; the which I acknowledge to be my very great fault, and almost Infinite sinne, which without doubt did deserve no lesse than the lowest depth of Hell. Of late years it was my good fortune to meet with the Masters of the truth, who came from the great* West, Mattheus Riccius *and* Lazarus Catanæus *together with their Companion* Sebastian Fernandes. *These were the first that did open unto me the* Mysteries of Divine truth: *and now again of late, I mett with* John Della Rocca *and his Companion* Frances Martinez. *These did confirm me in the beleef of those things I had already heard; by meanes of these Masters I learned, that Heaven and Earth, Mankind and all other things were made by* God *and that all things have their dependance on him; and are necessarilie subject unto his commands: that no other Sect, or law, whatsoever besides this, is conformable to truth; that sinnes are forgiven only by God by the intermission of his Ministers; that by him only the joyes of Heaven are conferred upon such, who have a true and syncere sorrow for their sinnes: and because I beleeve that by these meanes a man may obtain from God, Grace and other benefits, I beseech his* Divine Majestie, *that he would so fill me with this truth, that I may put it in execution by good works, and may be able with a constant and firme resolution to worship the* Heavenly Majestie *and to conforme my self to his Holy precepts and ordinances. And from the day wherein I shall receive* Baptisme, *which cleanseth and washeth all filth and uncleanesse from the Soule, I do promise by his Grace for the time to come, wholly to extirpate out of my thoughts the Sect of the vain and false* Gods; *as also their doctrines, which are repugnant to reason; and to take care, that my thoughts do not in any wise runne after the superfluous desire of riches, the vanitie of the world, or the false and foolish pleasures thereof. I will obey the* Sovereign Lord *and* Father *of all things, and will follow the direct way of his law; and by a constant watch upon my sences, I will endeavour, as much as is possible for me, to reduce the light of that reason, which God hath given me, to its former* Splendour, *I will begin with my self, and afterward communicate unto others, the benefit of those Graces I shall receive from his bountifull hand.*

For as much as appertaineth unto the Articles of our Faith, *although I am not able to comprehend the greatnesse of each Mysterie, nevertheless I do from my heart submit my self to them; and do firmly believe whatsoever is contained in them, beseeching the* Holy Ghost, *that he would illuminate my*

understanding with his light, that I might be the better able to comprehend them. Now therefore, since I have begun again to feele the first impressions of faith, *my heart is like a tender eare of corne, which is not yet come to its maturity, wherefore I beseech the* Mother of God, *that she will grant me strength and courage, by her* Intercession *for me with* God her Sonne, *that this my firm purpose & constant resolution might never be staggered or shaken: that he would open the powers of my soule, and grant me a cleane and pure heart: That he would open my mouth to declare his* Divine law *through the whole Kingdom, to the end that none might be ignorant of the* law *of the* True God, *or refuse to give obedience to it.*

This was the profession in writing of *Ignatius*. There was also baptized in this house by the hands of Father *John della Rocca*, who was superiour thereof, *Doctour Paul*, whose life we shall set downe more at large toward the end of this relation, and who may justly be called the pillar of the *Christianitie* of *China*, who was so much celebrated in the yearly letters, so eminent in dignitie and honour, having borne the highest office of the Kingdom, that is, of *Colao*; so zealous in the Christian religion; so exact in the observance of it; so humble; so vertuous and holy, that every great thing may worthily be said of him.

This seed of the *Holy Gospel* was not contained within the walls of the City of *Nankim*, but spread it selfe over the Province of the same name; for upon the occasion of *Dr. Pauls* turning *Christian*, and of his Fathers death, at what time he went to *Scianhai* to celebrate his funeralls, Father *Lazarus Catanæus* went thether, partly to visit him, and partly to see how that Countrie was disposed to receive the word of God. His journey had such good successe, that presently after one *Masse*, there were fifty *Baptized*, and in two years after the number was encreased to two hundred: the example of *Dr. Paul* being of great efficacy to that purpose.

There happened also at that time severall miracles; as, driving out of Devills, healing of the sick, and such like, with which this new *Christianitie* was watred, and the earth disposed to bring forth more fruit, such as were afterwards, and are still gathered there at this day. There was also a house founded in that Towne; and it is now one of the best *Christianities* in all *China*.

Whilest the Fathers of the three Southerne Residencies, under went so much paines and trouble, Father *Mattheus Riccius* was not idle at *Pekim*; but rather was so busied, that he had scarce time to breath, partly for the visits of the *Chinesses*, which he was also obliged to returne them, nor could he have omitted it without injury and discourtesie; and partly with the *Christians* and *Catechumeni*; and partly in composing those bookes, which are so much esteemed by the *Chinesses*. In the mean while the reputation and esteeme of our religion was every day advanced, and the number of *Christians* encreased by rare and miraculous events. One of the *Neophites*, or new *Christians*, being delivered from death, which he was unjustly condemned to suffer, by the apparition of a man, like unto the Image of our Saviour, one night to that Judge, who was to confirme the sentence, who commanded him to save the life of that *Innocent*: and two others, whose recovery was despaired of by the Physitians, were cured by

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the favour of the *B. Virgin*, who viſibly appeared to them, ſpake to them, and comforted them.

Notwithſtanding his great employments, Father *Mattheus* did not omit the other functions of his charge in the Houſe, he being ſuperiour and having the care of the whole *Miſſion*, which he governed with great care, prudence, and charity: by reaſon of theſe continuall paines and care which he tooke, (or rather becauſe the Lord was pleaſed to deliver his ſervant out of the troubles of this life, to give him the reward of his ſufferings) he fell into a ſickneſſe, and although all humane means were applyed, and all poſſible care uſed to ſave his life, yet all was to no purpoſe. He deſired to receive the *Sacraments*, which accordingly he received with very great reſentment and devotion: The Fathers deſired his bleſſing before he dyed: about many queſtions which they asked him, he gave particular anſwers to all: among the reſt, to one who asked him, Why he would leave them at a time, when they had ſo great need of his company? He anſwered, I *leave you the gate open to great victories, which notwithſtanding are not to be obtained without great pains and combats.* And ſo entertaining with diſcourſe, ſometimes the Fathers, ſometimes the new *Chriſtians*, and very often raiſing up his heart and voice towards heaven, in amorous *Colloquies*, lying in his bed, without any motion at all of his body, and cloſing his eyes, as if he were entring into a ſweet ſleep, he gave up his ſoule into the hands of his Maker, with the generall greife and reſentment, not only of thoſe of the houſe, and of the *Chriſtians*, but alſo of the *Gentiles*, they all calling him, *a perfect Man, a Saint, an Apoſtle.* I will forbeare to ſpeak any more of him for brevities ſake, by reaſon his life is already written in the Hiſtory of Father *Trigaltius*.

CHAP. 7.

Of the Burying place, which was beſtowed upon us by the King, and of the progreſſe of the Chriſtian religion, untill the time of the perſecution at Nankim.

IT is a cuſtom among the *Chineſſes*, (as we have already related,) to have a particular place appoynted for the buriall of their dead. The Fathers, who had very hardly a place allowed them for to live in, were altogether deſtitute of a place of Sepulture; wherefore they were in great doubt, where they ſhould bury the Father. But the Lord who is a guide unto his, and who had a particular intention to honour his ſervant, put them upon a very difficult undertaking, and as farre as I am able to judge by the cuſtome of *China*, without his ſpeciall aſſiſtance, altogether impoſſible. This was to Petition the King, deſiring his favour, to have a place aſſigned us for the buriall of our dead. And becauſe it was the Lord, who had firſt ſet this buſineſſe on foot, without any conſideration of the great difficultie, which

which they were like to find, they preſently framed a *Memoriall* to be preſented to the King, wherein they laid downe the reaſons, which moved them to make this humble requeſt.

The very paſſing of this *Memoriall*, according to the *Stile* which is requiſite upon that occaſion, ſeemed ſo impoſſible a thing, that the *Colao* himſelfe, who deſired to aſſiſt them as a friend, accounted it a very difficult enterpriſe. Nevertheleſſe after they had recommended their buſineſſe to Almighty God, the Memoriall was preſented to the *Mandarine*, to whoſe office it belonged firſt to over look it, and the Lord was pleaſed to favour us ſo farre, that it paſſed the *Chancery* without any difficultie, which at firſt ſeemed to be the greateſt. When it was preſented to the King, without doubt he that holdeth the hearts of Kings in his hand, did diſpoſe and incline him to favour us, and he remembring the former Preſent, and the Clock which he had alwaies by him, did referre it to the *Colao*, together with many other petitions, according to the *Stile* of that Court, and he to the Councell of Rites, becauſe it was a buſineſſe of ſtrangers, which did properly belong to them. But after they of that Councell had conſidered it, they judged it to be a ſpeciall favour of the Kings, and that it did therefore belong to the Councell of the Kings *Patrimonie*. Wherefore they did remit our *Memoriall* to them. Aſſoone as the Fathers underſtood this, and knowing they had no friends in that *Councell*, and that there was nothing to be expected from them without favour, they made ſuch means, by way of other friends, that the *Memoriall* was not only remanded againe to the Councell of Rites, wherein the Fathers had ſeverall friends, but that they alſo did receive it, and paſſe ſentence in favour of them, as accordingly they did in this form.

Your Majeſtie hath given command, that the Councell to whom this buſineſſe did belong, ſhould give their judgement concerning this petition. And it being come into our hands, we have well conſidered the laws and conſtitutions of this Kingdom, and we find one which ſaith: That if any of thoſe Strangers, *which are wont to come into this Kingdom, ſhould chance to die by the way; if he were a ſubject or Vaſſall,* (for ſometimes there come Kings and Princes thither) *and were not yet arrived at the Court, the Treaſurer of the Province, where he dyeth, ſhall aſſigne him a place of buriall, where there ſhall be ſet up an inſcription graven in ſtone, wherein ſhall be expreſſed the occaſion of his coming hither.*

There is alſo another law which ſaith, If a Stranger *come into this Kingdom, and die after he is arrived at the Court, if he have not received the Kings gratuity, and reward, according to the uſuall cuſtome, the Governour of the City ſhall defray the coſts of his funerall: But if he hath received his gratuity, it ſhall be done at his owne expence.*

In order to theſe two laws (from which I cannot well ſee how an argument ſhould be drawne to favour our cauſe, becauſe the Fathers had already received their gratuity) the *Mandarine* knew ſo well how to make up the buſineſſe, and to find out ſo many reaſons and conveniences to obtain that favour, which Father *James Pantoia* required of his Majeſtie, for the buriall of his deceaſed companion, that aſſoone as the *Memoriall* came againe into the Kings hands, he preſently referred it to the *Colao*, that he ſhould give what anſwer to it he thought fit. The *Colao* drew it up in this form;

forme, That it ſeemed very reaſonable unto him, the ſtrangers ſhould have that favour granted them, which they did deſire. And ſo it was againe brought to the King, who ſigned it with his owne hand, and put to it his *Fiat*.

This expedition put an end to our troubles; and the Fathers ceaſed not to render thanks to Almighty God for that favour, which they were ſo cleerly to owne from his goodneſſe, and which was of ſo great importance for the Fathers reſidence in that Court, and in the reſt of the Kingdom, that conceſſion of the King, ſerving not only for a Sepulture for their dead, but alſo for a licenſe for us to remain there during our lives. For he having granted us a place in that Kingdom, to lie in after our death, it was manifeſt that he granted us alſo a place of abode there during life: and the words of the Grant runne thus, *To bury their Father* Riccius *and his companions*. And accordingly they who die in that Court at this day are buried in the ſame place.

Having overcome the firſt part of the buſineſſe, (which was the moſt difficult,) without any trouble, but rather with a great deale of eaſe and facilitie, there remained ſtill the ſecond, which was the execution of it; which could not want very much oppoſition: but by having many *Mandarines* to their friends, and by procuring the good will of others, with ſome Sun-dialls of Ivory, (which the *Chineſſes* do highly eſteeme, and Father *Pantoia* had the skill of making them very exactly) our poverty not being able to extend it ſelfe to any great matter, at length they overcame the ſmaller difficulties, and the execution of their deſires became more eaſie for them; eſpecially the Fathers having the *Colao*, (who is able to do any thing,) for their friend: who indeed was ſo well affected to the buſineſſe, that Father *Pantoia* going a ſecond time to viſit him, to refreſh his memory, fearing leſt the multitude of buſineſſe, which lay upon him might cauſe him to forget them, before the Father could open his mouth, the *Colao* tooke him by the hand, telling him, that he did not forget his buſineſſe; but fearing leaſt any delay might be prejudiciall to them, he had paſt it himſelfe, and ſent it to the Governour with particular recommendations, although he thought it needleſſe, becauſe he knew him already to be very well affected to the buſineſſe, and that he had done the like to ſeverall other officers, through whoſe hands the buſineſſe was to paſſe: upon the recommendations of a perſon of ſo great qualitie, the buſineſſe was not only received, but very much favoured. There was preſently order given to the inferiour Officers, by whoſe hands it was immediately to be diſpatched, that they ſhould finde out a proper place for that purpoſe: who being alwaies very obedient to the commands of their ſuperiours, and knowing what haſte the buſineſſe did require, they went immediately about it; and having found out foure places, which to them ſeemed all very convenient, they came to the Fathers, and deſired them that they would be pleaſed to go and ſee them, and make choiſe of that which liked them beſt, and then the King ſhould be made acquainted with it.

Among theſe foure places, there was one very neere the walls of the City, with a very faire and ſtately houſe and garden, which had formerly belonged to one of the chiefe Eunuchs of the palace; who for I know not what

what crime was condemned to die; and was ſtill kept a Priſoner. This man before he was condemned, ſeeing he ſhould certainly be ruined, and that his whole eſtate would be confiſcated to the King, had a deſign to ſave this Garden, by putting it, as it were, into Sanctuarie; wherefore he cauſed the Gate thereof to be altered, turning it into an habitation of *Bonzi*, and conſecrated the great Hall for a Temple of Idols, ſetting over it this Magnificent Inſcription, *The Temple of the Science of Goodneſſe*. This place was very commodious, and having but one only *Bonzo* that lived in it, it ſeemed to be, as it were, abandoned, and that there would be but little difficultie in obtaining it. That place then being deſigned and choſen, there was not wanting a *Mandarine*, who hoping to draw ſomething out of the Fathers by it, was very earneſt to have the place prized: but there was another *Mandarine*, who preſently took him up, and told him, that the favours of Princes were above all price; and that they were not to be put to an out-cry. The Governour having notice that we had found out a place, & who was the owner of it, preſently drew up an Order in this form, *The Temple of the Science of goodneſſe, for as much as it did belong unto an* Eunuch, *who was condemned to death by the King, ought not to be bought with money. Let the* Bonzo, *who dwelleth therein, be ſent away, and the place preſently conſigned to Father* James Pentioa, *and his companions*.

This Order was executed in the form of a Sentence: and becauſe the *Fathers* did imagine, that the *Bonzo* would make ſome difficulty in being got out of the place, after they had given thanks to the *Governour*, they deſired he would be pleaſed to ſend for the *Bonzo* to come before him, and to command him to leave the Temple He diſpatched preſently two men for him, who brought him away in much fear and doubt, what might befall him, by reaſon of the great danger that men ordinarily runne into by ſuch viſits. When he was come, the Governour commanded him immediatly without any reply, that he ſhould quit that habitation, and ſeek out another. He obeyed him very willingly, being very glad the buſineſſe was not ſo bad as he had feared: and the very ſame day the *Fathers*, having ſome other *Chriſtians* in their company, took poſſeſſion of the Temple, Houſe and Garden, giving thanks to the Lord for their good ſucceſſe, thinking the buſineſſe to be now at an end; not foreſeeing the great contraſts and oppoſitions, which they were afterwards to find.

The ſecrecie and expedition, with which this buſineſſe was carried, gave no time for news to come to the ears of the *Eunuch* in Priſon, what became of the Temple, which he ſtill accounted to be his. But aſſoon as it was underſtood abroad that it was granted to the ſtrangers, it is not to be imagined what complaints and murmures it occaſioned in the Kindred, friends and diſciples of the *Eunuch*; and how all of them, ſome one way, and ſome another, undertook to oppoſe it, and to uſe their utmoſt power to have it revoked by the King.

Firſt, there went a company of inferiour *Eunuchs* to the Temple, where at that time they found only a Brother of the Societie; after a long diſcourſe they told him, that there were there ſeverall goods and pieces of Houſhold-ſtuffe not comprehended in the Kings grant to them. And at length before their departure, they made ſeverall ſpeeches to the Idoll;

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ſome bidding him adieu for ever; for now they never hoped to have libertie to come thither again: another in great rage called him, Maſſe of durt and dung, (although the Idoll were made of Chaulk, and gilt) telling him, that ſeeing he had not ſtrength enough to defend himſelf, he would not hope for any aſſiſtance from him; profeſſing to his face, that he was not worthy of any honour; and that from hence forward he would not ſhew any ſign of gratitude or memorie towards him: others ſaid, This ſtatue had formerly the name of another Idoll, which was afterwards changed: behold, what revenge he taketh upon him that uſurped it.

But the *Eunuchs* of greater authoritie left no way nor meanes un-attempted; they made their application to the chief *Eunuchs* of the Palace, as alſo to the *Mandarines* without, and other perſons of great power, that they might carry on their intent. And truly they prevailed ſo far, that they perſwaded the *Culikien* to interpoſe his authority; who is Secretary (as they call it) of the Puritie, chief of the *Eunuchs*, and who hath the frequenteſt acceſſe to the Kings perſon. But aſſoon as he underſtood, that it was done by the Kings Order, he would meddle no more with the buſineſſe.

There was not left any perſon of greater authoritie, but only the Kings Mother, who was a very devout worſhipper of Idols; by her meanes they did endeavour to bring their deſign about; a certain *Eunuch*, who was much in favour with her, being made the firſt mover of this revolution. He told her with great lamentations, that a Temple of his Gods had been taken away from him; that it was worth many thouſands of Crownes; that it had been given to certain ſtrangers, who did not only render them no worſhip nor reſpect, but did alſo deſtroy them; and that he was certain, they would break them in pieces and burn them; wherefore he earneſtly beſought her *Majeſtie*, that ſhe would vouchſafe to ſpeak a word concerning it to the King. But ſhe would by no meanes allow of his requeſt: and it was known afterwards, that ſhe anſwered him in this manner, *What though the* Temple *be of that value you ſpeak of? What is that in compariſon of the Kings Magnificence? the very mentioning of ſuch a buſineſſe now the King hath done them that favour, if the ſtrangers ſhould but make their complaint, would be ſufficient to take away the life of that* Eunuch, *who is in Priſon, and already condemned.* To conclude, in ſpite of all the powerfull endeavours, in ſpite of all the craft and machinations which were uſed againſt them, the determination of the buſineſſe was in favour of the poor ſtrangers, who were protected by a Divine power; and ſo having overcome all difficulties and obſtructions, the Fathers went to the Palace, according to the uſuall manner, to render Thanks to the King.

This place which was granted them, is diſtant from the gate of the Citie, about a third part of a Mile; the building is very neat, and all of Brick; and had not then been built above thirty years: it is reported to have coſt 14000. Crownes; which is an exceſſive ſumme in *China*. Toward Morning the Body of Father *Riccius* was brought thither, having been already laid in a Coffin, which was very well cloſed, and varniſhed over after the *Chineſſe* Faſhion. A great number of new *Chriſtians* did accompany it, with lighted Candles in their hands, following the *Croſſe* which was carried before very richly adorned; and for the preſent the

Coffin was put in a room on one ſide of the Chappel, that there might be a convenience to performe thoſe ceremonies, which were requiſite after the manner of *China*; after that, it was transferred to the *Dormitorie* already prepared for it. At the further end of the Garden there is a Chappell conſiſting of ſix ſides; it is made of brick, and vaulted. From the ſides come out two walls, built compaſſing in figure of a Semi-circle. This place was choſen by the Fathers for a *Coemeterie*, round about it there are four *Cypreſſes*, which are alſo among the *Chineſſes* accounted mournfull and funerall Trees: they ſeemed as if they had been planted there on purpoſe, to ſhade the Tomb of Father *Riccius*, which was alſo built there of Brick; and the chief Idol being beaten to pieces, ſerved in ſtead of Lime, that the Father might even after death, triumph in the deſtruction of Idols. They cauſed the Chappel of Idols to be cleanſed, and conſecrated it to Chriſt our Saviour. There was in the Hal a very ſtately Altar, whereon was placed the principall Idol, all gilt from head to foot, of a vaſt bigneſſe, called by the *Chineſſes*, *Ticam*; and their conceit is, that he doth preſide over the earth, and all treaſures; and is the very ſame with *Pluto*, having a Scepter in his hand, and a Crowne on his head, juſt as we paint our Kings. On each ſide of him ſtood foure Miniſters, or Servants, all made of the ſame matter; on each ſide of the Hall were placed Two great Tables, upon each of which ſtood five inferiour Kings of Hell; the ſame Kings were alſo to be ſeen painted on the walls of each ſide, ſitting on a *Tribunall*, and condemning Sinners to the puniſhments and paines of Hell; there were alſo to be ſeen Painted horrible Devils, carrying Inſtruments of torment in their hands; and likewiſe ſeverall ſorts of puniſhments which are inflicted on the damned wretches, and their caverns full of flames, Serpents and terrible fiends. There was alſo Painted a great Ballance, and in one of the Scales was to be ſeen a man laden with ſinnes and wickedneſſe, and in the other the book of prayers belonging to that Sect, which did out-weigh all the Sinnes, and deliver him who doth frequently rehearſe them. There was alſo a River of fire, which ſwallowed up very many men; over it there were two Bridges, one of Gold, and the other of Silver; and over theſe did the Miniſters of the Idols conduct men to places of pleaſure and delight. There were alſo to be ſeen ſome of the *Bonzi*, who plucked their Fathers out of the flames and torments in deſpite of the Devils, and other ſuch things, by which thoſe Miniſters did gain a great repute to themſelves: and over every ſort of torment there was this inſcription, Whoſoever ſhall call a thouſand times upon the name of ſuch an Idoll, ſhall be delivered from this ſort of puniſhment. All was thrown down and deſtroyed by our Servants, who ſtrove who ſhould do it faſteſt; by reaſon that the *Chineſſes* do put into the bellies of their Idols, money, *Medals*, and alſo Jewels. The walls were plaiſtered over a new, and over a new Altar was erected the Image of our *B. Saviour*.

On the day of all *Saints* the firſt Maſſe was celebrated there, with all poſſible Solemnitie, and with ſound of Organs and other inſtruments. All the *Chriſtians* were there preſent, and after a brief exhortation, the body of Father *Mattheus Riccius* was carried to the place of Sepulture by the chiefeſt of them, and followed by all the reſt; particularly by Doc-

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tour *Paul*, who loved him as a Father, and there, with the ceremonies of the Church he was enterred, there having been first placed in that Chapple another Image of our Saviour. The Fathers also built there another little Chapple to the *B. Virgin* in a place convenient for that purpose; to which they had obliged themselves by a vow, which they made when they first undertook this businesse.

Finally over the first Gate they placed in two *Chinesses* Characters this Inscription, *By the Kings liberalitie*; which among them is counted a greater honour than will here easily be beleeved. Curiosity brought many thither, to see the accommodation they had made, which was commended and admired by all: neither truly ought it to seem a small matter, that in the face of the King and the Court, Alters should be overturned, and Idols beaten to pieces by a few poor strangers, and that too, even with approbation of the greatest officers. This extraordinarie Grace conferred by the King upon us was shortly after divulged in *Pekim*, which gave no small strength and vigour to our affaires there. Their houses were more frequented, the Fathers better looked upon, and the fruits of the Gospel daily encreased.

They had only foure *Residencies* at that time, which was in the year 1610, but they were so disposed, that they did as it were comprehend the whole Kingdome from South to North, upon the great road from *Canton* to *Pekim*, but the Fathers desiring, after they had runne in a manner from pole to pole, to follow also the course of the Sunne, and to exalt the light of the Gospel through the East and Western parts, (where there are many famous Cities,) the occasion was offered them by *Doctor Leo*; for his Father being dead, he was forced to leave his government, and to return into his Country to bury him; and to observe that Mourning, which is required by the custome of the Country, wherefore he took along with him some of the Fathers, partly for his own particular consolation, and to instruct the *Christians* in his Familie, and to Baptise such as had not yet been converted; and partly to endeavour to found a house in that his native City of *Hamcheu*. The first happy encounter there, was that of Doctour *Tam*, named afterwards at his *Baptism*, *Michael*, who is much celebrated in our yearly letters. He was a *Mandarine*, of great account, and a Kinsman of *Doctour Leo*, and had been for seaven years together Chancellour of the whole Province of *Nankim*, which is an Office of very great importance, and was very rich, of a great House, and allyed to the principall Families of that Citie; and above all, he was very devout towards the *Pagods*, in so much that he had built a Temple for them within his own Palace, with a certain number of *Bonzi* to serve them, whom he maintained at his own charges. But he did this more out of ignorance than malice, and therefore the Lord shewed mercy unto him. He was one of the first that visited the Fathers, and being very much addicted to the defence of his Religion, he began a very hot dispute with a more than ordinarie zeal for the upholding of his Sect; the which he continued likewise the day following, and the next day, and so for nine dayes together, alwayes producing new arguments and proposing new difficulties; not that he had a design

to impugne, but only to discover the truth. The ninth day he yeelded himselfe, crying out, *A true God, A true Law, A true Doctrine.* And after he had been very diligently *Catechised* and instructed, he was *Baptized*, to the great consolation of the *Fathers*, and also of *Dr. Leo*, (who did much rejoice at it; and to the singular griefe and shame of the *Bonzi*, who were presently discarded, and their Temple converted into a Church dedicated to the *Saviour of the world*.

Now did these two *Heroes* seem two firme and stable pillars, very proper to sustaine that infant Church, with a certain hope, that their example would draw many others to the law of *Christ*, and that there would be a flourishing *Christianitie* founded in that so populous a *Metropolis*, which in my opinion is the richest, the most delicious and magnificent in Temples and other structures of any in that Kingdom. But for the generalitie the least disposed to receive our *Holy faith*, whether it were then for this cause, or because their hour was not yet come, which required a greater disposition: there was so little fruit of the Gospel at that time, that the Fathers judged it better to give place to time, and for the present to leave that abode, and to finde out some other place, better disposed to receive the seed of faith. They proceeded so farre as to propose their intention to Father *Nicolaus Longobardus*, superiour of that *Mission*, who would neither approve, nor reject their opinion, but remitted the businesse to the judgement of the House at *Nankim*, where I was then at that time, and by the grace of God, we were there in all, nine of the Societie. The matter was debated, and it was resolved by all of us, that according as experience had taught us, they should proceed with patience and longanimitie, greater difficulties having been overcome by those weapons. So without any more thoughts of change, the *Fathers* remained labouring in that City, not knowing the great good which the Lord had there prepared for them, and which, time afterwards discovered; not only by founding there, one of the most numerous and best instructed *Churches* that is in *China*, but because that house was ever a safe Port to us in all Tempests, and a secure refuge in all persecutions, as shall be seen hereafter.

Christianitie also was much encreased in *Xauhoi*, the Country of *Dr. Paul*; for his Father and all his household had been *Baptized*, and many other people of that place: and although we had there no setled house, there was nevertheless a Church, and every year the *Christians* were visited, both to confirme the old ones, and convert new ones.

In the foure ancient houses, the *Fathers* said Masse, preached and exercised the *Mysteries* and *Ceremonies* of our *Holy Faith*, very quietly and without any disturbance at all. The *Christians* exercised their devotion, and many *Gentiles* endeavoured to finde the way of their *Salvation*; the *Christian Religion* flourished every day more and more, with an abundant number of new *Converts*, and also of new *Labourers*, which were sent to us from *Macao*, where they were first instructed in the language and custome of the Country. In the mean time we were sent unto from many places and from severall persons, to desire us to come into their Country, and to preach the Gospel to them.

This City of *Vamcheu*, which is neere unto *Nankim*, had so great a desire

fire to be made partakers of our doctrine, that the *Litterati* there wrot a letter to Father *Alphonſus Vagnone*, in *Nankim*, where he was at that time ſuperiour, which was ſubſcribed by forty of them, wherein they did invite the Father to come to them, with many prayers and entreaties, and very earneſtly deſired him, that he would not deferre his comming, & that good which they ſo much longed for. They did alſo the like in many other places; whether the fame of our *Holy Faith* was arrived either by the books we had printed there, or by the relation of the *Gentiles*; (for theſe do ſometimes ſerve as a guide to the reſt, and I had once one of them, who did help me to *Catechiſe*) or elſe by their converſation with *Chriſtians* themſelves. And this was done with ſo much fervour, that really it ſeemed to us, the time was come, wherein, after all ſtorms and tribulations were blown over, the winter was paſſed away, and the ſpring time began to appeare, bringing forth flowers worthy the ſight of that celeſtiall *Gardiner*; or rather, that the crop was now ripe, and expected a happy harveſt. The *Fathers*, being animated with theſe ſucceſſes, and well pleaſed with the many occaſions, which continually preſented themſelves, were not ſparing to make good uſe of them, hoping that they would have been dayly encreaſed. But who is able to comprehend the judgements of the Lord? Or who hath been his Councellour? Whileſt things ſtood in this proſperous condition, whether it were for the ſinnes of that Kingdom, or for ours in particular, or becauſe the Lord was pleaſed to prove and exerciſe his ſervants, there was raiſed in *Nankim*, (where that houſe was founded with much quiet, and had continued in greater tranquility than the reſt) the following perſecution.

CHAP. 8.

A fierce perſecution is raiſed againſt the Chriſtians in Nankim.

THis *Perſecution*, which was the moſt terrible of all we have yet ſuffered, began in the year 1615 upon this occaſion which I ſhall relate.

There was this year ſent from *Pekim* to *Nankim* a *Mandarine* called *Qui Xin*, to be an aſſiſtant of the third *Tribunall* named *Lipu*, which taketh cognizance of all *Rites, Sects, Strangers* and ſuch like. This man, beſides that he was extreamly averſe both to our *Holy Faith*, and to the *Fathers*; and on the contrary, very much addicted to the worſhip of Idols, he had been ſtirred up by ſeverall occaſions, to beare a particular hatred towards us; Firſt by reaſon of a booke written againſt our religion by a *Bonzo*, an intimate friend of his, which was ſo well confuted by *Dr. Paul*, that the *Bonzo* broke his heart with the very griefe and ſhame he conceived at it. Moreover the *Bonzi* of *Nankim*, had given him a handſome bribe, reported to be 10000 crownes, to drive us away; hoping thereby, that fire might be extinguiſhed, which had been kindled againſt their Gods. To theſe may be added

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the ſpleen he had againſt *Dr. Paul* and *Dr. Michael*, who diſcourſing with him, the one in *Pekim*, and the other in *Cechian*, did by ſuch powerfull arguments vilify thoſe Idols, he did worſhip, that, having nothing left to anſwer for himſelfe, he converted his ſilence into rage, and his ſhame into venome. But his ſpite and malice was much more encreaſed, when he underſtood, that two *Memorialls* had been preſented to the King, by two *Mandarines* of great qualitie, wherein they did earneſtly move the King, that the Fathers might be perſwaded to tranſlate the books of *Europe* into the *Chineſſe* language, and that they ſhould be employed in the reformation of their calendar; *Xin* not being able to digeſt, that ſtrangers ſhould be held in ſuch eſteeme, who were enemies to his ſect, to the manifeſt danger and ruine of his Idols: and laſt of all, that which did ſtrongly animate him to that enterpriſe, was the ambition he had to be *Colao*, hoping, that this his zeale for the ancient *Rites*, and for the religion of his *Fathers*, would aduance him to that dignitie; eſpecially ſince it belonged to his office, to have a vigilent eye over ſuch matters.

Therefore beſides other things, which belonged to his charge and office, he cauſed a damnable *Information* to be drawne up againſt the *Fathers*, proving therein by feigned and colourable reaſons, that they ought to be baniſhed the Kingdom. He ſaid they had intruded themſelves into *China* without leave, making uſe, for proofe thereof, of a certain *Memoriall* which we have formerly mentioned to have been made by the ſtudents of *Nankim*, wherein they beſought the *Mandarines* to baniſh the *Fathers* out of the Kingdom, as perſons who were very pernicious to the *Common-wealth*, and had ſecret *Machinations* againſt the King and Kingdom; for ſaid they, if it be not for this reaſon, for what other end and purpoſe are they come with ſo much eagerneſſe and zeale into another world, and had abandoned their owne habitations and eſtates? The other *Teſtimonies* which he brought, were other ſuch like impoſtures, wherewith a neighbour of ours in *Nankim* had furniſhed him; that many nights in the year, under pretenſe of ſome ſolemnitie concerning the divine worſhip, there were many great aſſemblies held in our houſe conſiſting of thouſands of men and women (a moſt groſſe lie) and that before the break of day they all diſperſed themſelves to their owne houſes; that every new *Chriſtian* had given him five falſe duckats, made by *Alchimy*, after he had been enrolled in a liſt, which they kept of them, and that they had ſtrange and barbarous names impoſed upon them at their admittance, and were taught to make the ſigne of the croſſe upon their forehead, to ſerve them as a marke of diſtinction in the time of their rebellion and inſurrection. That they had their houſes full of Armes, and other ſuch like lies very well coloured over.

Of all theſe arguments put together he framed a *Memoriall*, which he preſented to the King in the *Month* of *May* 1616. The ſubſtance whereof was, *Our entrance by ſtealth into the Kingdome. The propagation of a Law contrary to that of the Iaols, which had been the religion of their Anceſtours. The concurrance which there was in high Titles between our God and their King, betwixt our Weſt and their Eaſt. Our ſubtletie and craft in gaining of friends. The deſtruction of the* Aſtrologie *of* China *as falſe and erroneous, occaſioned by the reading of that of* Europe, and ſuch like things. The concluſion of it was,

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That it was neceſſary for the publike good, that he ſhould cauſe a generall Maſſacre *both of the* Fathers *and the reſt of the* Chriſtians, *before their force and number could prove dangerous to the Kingdom.*

To this *Memoriall*, which was preſented to the King very ſecretly, there was no anſwer returned within the uſuall time. Nevertheleſſe, *Dr. Michael* had notice of it by means of a *Mandarine*, who was a friend both to him, and to the ſaid *Xin*: he preſently gave adviſe thereof to the *Fathers*, with directions what they ſhould do. He wrote many letters to ſeverall *Mandarines* in our favour, and one directed to *Xin*, wherein without diſcovering that he knew his intention, he confuted all his arguments againſt the *Fathers* and their religion. Laſt of all, he invited the *Fathers* to retire themſelves to his houſe in the City of *Hamcheu*, untill the ſtorme were over. In the mean time, we laboured to obtain the help and ſuccour of Almighty God, by re-doubling our prayers and mortifications; and withall, we went to *Dr. Leo*, who lived two dayes journey off, and ſhewed him the *Apologie* written by *Dr. Michael* for our aſſiſtance and counſell, to which he added a diſcourſe in commendations of the *Fathers*, and of their religion; and by their hands he diſperſed many advertiſements neceſſary for that time and occaſion, throughout the whole City: neither were the *Fathers* wanting with fervent exhortations to do the office of *faithfull Paſtours*, animating and encouraging all to ſuffer for the defence of Gods honour, and his *Holy Religion*. And the *Chriſtians*, ſtriving who ſhould prepare himſelfe beſt againſt the ſtorme, frequented our houſe and the *Holy Sacraments*, and tooke counſell how to carry themſelves in caſe of *Perſecution*. There was among the reſt a prudent and learned perſon named *John Vao*, who had prepared foure ſmall banners, wherein he wrote his name, Sir-name, and Country, and the *Chriſtianitie* both of himſelfe and of his familie; which might ſerve him for enſignes of his profeſſion in time of *Perſecution*; neither did he ceaſe to declare himſelfe to be ſuch, and to exhort others to a conſtant confeſſion of their faith.

Three *Months* after the firſt *Memoriall*, *Xin* having received no anſwer from the King, preſented another to the ſame purpoſe by the hand of *Xamxù*, who was *Lipù* of the third *Tribunall* in *Pekim*, having perſwaded him alſo to frame another of the ſame Tenour, and to preſent it along with his. *The Mathematician*, who had perſwaded the *Fathers* to correct and amend the *Chineſſe Calendar*, diſcovered their plot, and privately taking a copy of their petitions, he gave it to the *Fathers* and to *Dr. Paul*, who in one night wrote an *Apologie* for the *Fathers* to preſent to the King, when there was occaſion, and diſpatched a *Mandarine*, his diſciple, a man very well verſed in the manage of affaires at Court, to the *Preſident* of *Lipu*, that having ſufficiently informed him of the truth, he might perſwade him not to favour the intentions of *Xin*. This *Preſident* concealed the venome he had in his heart under faire and ſpecious promiſes; but in effect, he gave in a moſt pernicious *Memoriall*, wherein he affirmed, That the requeſt of *Xin* was ſo juſt and neceſſary for the preſervation of the Kingdom, that for his part he ſhould have thought he had done well, if without expecting any other leave from the King, but only by the duty of his place, he had diſpatched orders throughout all the Provinces for the exterми-

extermination and baniſhment of all the *Fathers*, excepting only thoſe of *Pekim*, becauſe he ſaw them well backt and ſupported; taxing by theſe words both the King and the *Mandarines* who did protect them. The *Memoriall* was ſo handſomely woven, and the words placed ſo equivocally, that he could have given them quite another interpretation, if need had required.

Theſe two *Memorialls*, the one of *Xin*, and the other of the *Preſident*, were preſented on the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, and after that a third, that we could get no intelligence of, till it was preſented. On the twentieth of the ſame month they were publiſhed, according to the *Stile* of *China*, by expreſſe *Curriers*, throughout all the Provinces of the Kingdom, together with a particular order from the *Preſident*, for the impriſonment of the *Fathers*. The people were amazed to ſee three *Mandarines* conſpire againſt thoſe, whom the whole Kingdom had admired, and whom almoſt all the *Letterati* had reſpected, viſited, and eſteemed; but they well perceived, that theſe accuſations were but forged calumnies, which proceeded from a corrupt and malicious ſpirit.

On the thirtieth of the ſame moneth, about midnight, by means of a *Currier* diſpatched for that purpoſe, by the *Quoi* of *Pekim*, the news came to the *Fathers* in *Nankim* of what had paſſed at Court. Immediately they ran to the Church, and preſented themſelves as Victimes and Sacrifices unto the Lord; and afterwards packing up their Pictures, and the ſacred Veſſels that belonged to the Church, they conveighed them thence into the Houſe of a *Chriſtian*; hoping by that meanes to ſecure them. Aſſoon as it was day, the *Fathers*, *Nicolaus Longobardus* ſuperiour of the *Miſſion*, and *Julius Lenis*, departed towards *Pekim*, to give what aſſiſtance they were able to the reſt. There remained in *Nankim* the Fathers *Alphonſus Vagnone* and *Alvarus Semedo* (*the Authour of this Relation*,) who expected every moment, when they ſhould be ſeiſed on by the Sergeants and Executioners. Not long after, came three *Mandarines* to us from the Preſident of the Councell of warre, to give us notice, that that Preſident and *Xin* were deputed to put the Proclamation in execution, which had been lately iſſued for our baniſhment out of that Kingdom; nevertheleſſe, they ſeemed to condole with us, becauſe, as they ſaid, they were very well ſatisfied, both of our innocence and deſerts; yet adviſed us to give place willingly to force, before we ſhould be neceſſitated to undergo the diſcourteous aud barbarous uſage of *Xin*: and that the *Preſident* would give order, that we might not receive any affront, nor moleſtation in our journey; alſo one of the three did adviſe us as from himſelf, that we ſhould not make too much haſt, for that he hoped through our Innocence, and the favour of the *Fathers* friends at *Pekim*, theſe troubles would ſhortly be appeaſed.

Toward the evening, there was a company of Souldiers ſent by *Xin* to beſet the Houſe, and about the break of day, the firſt of September, there appeared three Sergeants to apprehend the *Fathers*, and to ſearch every hole and corner of the houſe: and although they had a ſpeciall order from *Xin* to abuſe and evill intreate the *Fathers*, nevertheleſſe they carryed themſelves very courteouſly, and ſent in their meſſage in writing to

Father

Father *Vagnone*; which is a great poynt of *Civilitie* in *China*. They set a guard upon the doores, and made an inventary of whatsoever they found in the House.

In the meane while Father *Vagnone* sent a Christian, called *Donatus*, under pretence that he was our *Caterer*, to *Father Longobardus*, to tell him what had happened, and to advise him to take heed, that he did not fall into the enemies clutches. *Donatus* did his message, and returned with provision for our supper in his hands, although he was jeared by the Souldiers, that he would returne into the cage of his owne accord, yet he preferred that prison before the liberty he might have enjoyed elsewhere. For at the very first rumour of the persecution, He returned to the house purposely to serve us, being resolved either to live or die with us for the defence of that faith, of which (though he was of very young years) he was so zealous and observant; having converted many; and in effect, God did give him the grace to suffer much for his religion; both in imprisonment and stripes, he was our constant companion.

When the inventary was finished, to the great edification of the Sergeants, who did not expect to finde such povertie; and when they had sealed our chests and whatsoever could be shut up, they carryed away Father *Vagnone* in a sedan, and brought him before *Xin*, leaving Father *Semedo* lying sick in a chamber, which they had sealed up. Assoone as he was brought out, there was a great noyse and shouting made by the meaner sort of people, and so great a crowde, that the Officers were forced to make their way by blowes. After they had gone two miles, they stayed according to the orders which *Xin* had given, at the house of the *Tauli*, who was a Kinsman of *Xins*, spending at least two houres in giving him an account of what had passed: during which time, Father *Vagnone* was left in the open street exposed to the injuries, scoffes and abuses of the insolent people. At length the Sergeants being returned, made their excuses to the *Father*, for their long stay; and so carried him to prison, recommending him to the *Gaolers*, as an innocent person.

A little after, the chief of the Sergeants sent him from his House a good Supper and a bed; the other Sergeants did also the like in their turns, every one taking his day. There were two of our domestique Servants who waited upon Father *Vagnone* in the prison; one whereof was called *Ciam Matthew*, he was a very zealous *Christian*, and for three years before, had retired himselfe to our house, that he might with more liberty serve God, and waite upon the *Fathers*, without expecting any other recompense, but that of the next life. This man, assoone as the Sergeants were come into our house, presented himselfe first of all to give them his name, that he might have the opportunitie to be carryed along with the *Fathers*, as in effect he was, and gained a happy crowne by this *Persecution*.

At the news of the imprisonment of Father *Vagnone*, the *Christians* inflamed with zeale, ran to our house, neither could the guards hinder some of them from going in. The most zealous of all the rest was *John Yao*, who sticking in his cap one of the above mentioned banners, and holding up in his right hand a scrowl of paper, wherein were contained the chiefe heads of our religion, and the necessity of them, being asked by the guard,

what he meant by it, answered, To die with the *Fathers* like a *Christian* for the faith of Christ. The Souldiers were much astonished at that answer; yet they put a halter about his neck, and lead him to the *Mandarines*; where being asked, what he was, answered boldly and with a loude voice, That he was a *Christian*, & that he came to give an account of the law of Christ; if they would be pleased to hearken to him. They immediately caused the halter to be taken from about his neck, and gave him a seat to rest himselfe on; much admiring his resolution and constancy, the like whereof had not till that time been seen in *China*.

In the mean time, *Xin* understanding that the Sergeants had left one Father in the house, and used the other civilly, was very angry, and reproved them sharply for it, commanding them to go next morning to a garden, which we had without the City for our recreation, telling them they should finde there store of armes concealed; and at their returne to carry the other *Father* to prison. They found nothing in the garden of what they looked for; but they carried Father *Semedo* out of the house to prison, together with foure servants, and foure other *Christians*, who had come into the house, as also brother *Sebastian Fernandes*, and another student, who was a native of the City of *Macao*.

The *Christians* of *Nankim* wrote an account of what had happened, to *Father Longobardus*, who was departed for *Pekim*. The messenger overtooke him in *Cauxeu*, where he presently consulted with *Dr. Leo*, who was Governour at that time of two territories; it was resolved, that the *Father* should go alone to *Pekim*, that he might the more easily be suffered to passe, and that he should leave his companion there. He furnished him with an hundred crownes to defray such expenses as should be requisite for the making of their defence. He wrote also to severall *Mandarines* of *Nankim*, and to the *Vice-roy* himselfe. He procured many letters from his friends to others in the Court in favour of the prisoners: he comforted them with letters, and mony, and cloaths against winter, which began to grow very sharpe; neither was his fortitude inferiour to his charity, resisting valiantly his kindred and friends, who did every day set upon him to perswade him to leave that so open defence and protection of the *Fathers*, which might prove so prejudiciall and dangerous to him; but he gave them so good reasons for what he did, that they were all silenced, and he and his whole family persevered in the way they had begun.

Dr. Michael shewed himselfe no lesse zealous, assoone as he understood the newes by the letters, which were sent him by the *Christians* of *Nankim* and *Nanham*; for he advised the *Father* who was at *Hamkeu*, (for the other was gone to visit the *Christians* thereabouts) that he should get him gone out of the City; which accordingly he did with many teares of the *Christians*, and fervour and zeale of the *Catechumeni*, who accompanied him to the boote; as did *Dr. Michael* likewise and his two sonnes, and a brother of his, who was a *Gentile*; and three other *Letterati*, walking on foote a great way, that cold and wet season of the year. He gave also a hundred crownes to that lay-brother, whom the Fathers sent to *Cauxeu*, to Father *Longobardus*, towards the expence of his voyage, the which mony Father Longobardus sent afterwards by the same brother to *Nankim*, for the relieſe of our prisoners.

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When *Longobardus* was arrived at *Pekim*, he found the *Fathers*, *Jacobus Pantoia*, and *Sabbatinus D' Orſi*, who negotiated our buſineſſe, according to the directions and inſtructions of *Dr. Paul*. It is hardly credible, what care and paines he tooke in writing of letters and learned *Apologies*, and all other imaginable diligences, both openly and under-hand, for the defence of the *Chriſtian Religion*, which things I forbeare to mention here, becauſe they ſhall be related in his life. Yet for all this, was he never able to get a *Memoriall* paſſed to the Kings hands, *Xin* having craftily ſhut up all entrance to him; nevertheleſſe thoſe *Apologies* were diſperſed through the whole Kingdom, and did ſufficiently manifeſt the malice of our adverſaries, and the injuſtice of the perſecution.

While the *Chriſtians* with one accord endeavoured to make our innocencie appeare, and defended it with all their might, *Xin* grew ſtill the more outragious againſt the *Chriſtians*, and particularly againſt the poore priſoners. He ſuffered them not to be together above five daies, but commanded they ſhould be ſeparated and put into five ſeverall priſons, and very ſtrictly forbid they ſhould be allowed any converſation or viſits, ſtrengthening their guards, upon pretence, that thoſe men could vaniſh out of ſight when they pleaſed. But he was extreamly vexed, when he ſaw he could not ſo colour his cauſe, but that it appeared to moſt men to be unjuſt, and occaſioned meerly by malice; as alſo obſerved, that the *Mandarines* ſhewed us the ſame kindneſſe and reſpect, as they had done in the time of our proſperity: but that which afflicted him moſt was the joy and cheerfulneſſe, which all thoſe priſoners ſhewed in their ſufferings for the love of Chriſt, without ever giving any ſigne of ſadneſſe, or diſcontent, in all their miſery.

Xin not being able to ſhake the conſtancy of men, would needs try whether he could overcome the courage of children, commanding that five boyes, who were left behind in our houſe by reaſon of their tender years, ſhould be apprehended by the officers and carryed to priſon: an act which was accounted barbarous, even in the opinion of thoſe that did not favour us. He deprived of his degree of *Batchelor Philippe Sin*, who was Maſter of the *Chineſſe* tongue to the *Fathers*; who foreſeeing the blow, kept himſelfe retired for a while in his houſe: But aſſoone as the occaſion of his *Degradation* was publiſhed, which was for having taught the language to the *Fathers*; then he went abroad, rejoycing publickly, that he had had the honour to obtain a more noble degree, by ſuffering for the *faith* of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

After this, *Xin* did very much endeavour to finde out ſome letter, written by *Dr. Leo*, or *Dr. Paul*, or by the Fathers; that he might pick ſome occaſion out of it to raiſe a calumny upon them: but this atrempt proving fruitleſſe, he betooke himſelfe to compaſſe his deſire by a ſleight, writing to *Dr. Leo* in the name of Father *Vagnone*, on purpoſe to draw an anſwer from him, which he might cenſure, and make his owne comment upon; which in *China* is no hard thing to do, by reaſon of the cuſtome they have of writing and ſealing letters with the hand and ſeale of another: But neither did this invention take effect. For *Dr. Leo* preſently diſcovered the cheat by the ſtile & maner of writing, & did but laugh at him for his pains.

In the mean time there arrived at *Nankim*, that lay-brother, who was sent from Father *Longobardus* to assist the prisoners and *Christians* there; where he found *Ignatius Hya*, a learned man, a good *Christian*, and kinsman of *Dr. Leo*, who was sent thither from *Canxeu*, to cause an *Apologie*, which the *Dr.* had written, to be printed and dispersed in that Court. This lay-brother undertooke the care of the presse, and having chosen out *Six Christians* of the Art, he carried on the worke in a private garden that belonged to one of them. The uncle of this *Christian* to whom the garden belonged, wherein the presse was, having counselled them in vain to desist, by reason of the danger they put him in, went and discovered it to *Xin*, who gave him a good gratuity for his news; and that night sent Officers, who tooke them all and brought them before *Xin*, who was very joyfull to have found this new occasion of traversing the *Fathers*. They were sent to prison, and shortly after carryed before that *Tauli*, who was a kinsman of *Xin*: who having read the *Apologie*, and understood the cause, finding nothing in it to lay hold upon, to free himselfe of the trouble, sent them to another *Tauli*, who imitating the first, sent them before another great *Mandarine*; who having heard the cause, said they were not guilty of any thing; and to conclude the businesse, gave his sentence in writing, That those men ought in justice to be set at libertie; but if they were to have any chastisement, he thought fifteen *Bastinadoes* to the chiefe of them would be sufficient; and that his opinion was they ought to be set at liberty, without being sent any more to any other Tribunall: nevertheless, he remanded them back to *Xin* out of the respect he bore to his great office, fully perswading himselfe, that he would set them at libertie.

When *Xin* heard the sentence, he was ready to burst with rage and anger: but not knowing how to help it for the present, he sent them to prison to Father *Vagnone*, after he had caused fifteen *Bastinadoes* to be given the poore brother in so cruell a manner, that he was in great pain and misery. I will not stand now to recount the villanies and outrages which they suffered, whilest they were remanded from one *Tribunall* to another; that tempest of *Cuffes*, *Kicks*, *Thrusts*, boxes of the eare, spitting upon, dirt throwing in their faces, pulling of the haire of their heads and beards, and other insolencies, which use to be done there to poore prisoners, when the mony floweth not largely to the Officers; as it happened to these poore *Christians*; leaving all to the consideration of the pious Reader.

After this, they were sent by *Xin* to the *Mandarines* of his *Tribunall* to be examined; the examination lasted six houres upon these Articles: *What law is this law of yours? How came you into* China? *How do your professours live? How do they maintain themselves? What Government have they? What commerce with* Macao, *and the Fathers of that place?* But at length the examination was ended without torments, by means of a *Mandarine*, who was a Countriman of *Dr. Paul*, and *Dr. John*, from whom he had received letters in favour of us. *Xin* was highly enraged at this, and having sharply reproved the *Mandarine*, he removed the cause from that *Tribunall*, and sent it to a higher Court, desiring the *Tauli* thereof to put on rigour in such a cause as this was. They were examined by him for a little while, and having pardoned the rest, he commanded twenty stripes to be given to

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Vu Paul, who was owner of the Garden; and twenty more to the Lay-brother, whose wounds were not yet healed which he had received by the other fifteen stripes; and so sent them to *Xin*; who not contented with these torments, sent them again to the *Mandarines* of his own *Tribunall*, where they were examined a new; and for the Satisfaction of *Xin*, were racked (after that manner which we have described, when we spake of the torments among the *Chineses*) to make them confesse that which they knew not, These valiant *Christians* were very ill handled by these tormentours; not having any crime to confesse, they were accused to have perswaded several Women to turne *Christians*, assisting therein Father *Vagnone*; wherefore by a new Sentence they were all *Bastinadoed* in the manner above-said, except a very old man, and two of the Printers, who were *Gentiles*. But seeing the Lay-Brother and *Vu Paul* so torne and wounded with the *Stripes* they had received, they gave over, and sent them back to Prison.

They being cured and healed there by Father *Vagnone*, as well as he could possible, in that misery and poverty he was in, fifteen dayes after they were brought again before *Xin*, who examining them very particularly, said to the Brother, *What kind of Law is that of yours, which holdeth forth for a God, a man who was executed for a Malefactour?* Whereupon the Brother took occasion, with a great deale of Spirit, to open the *Mystery* of the *Incarnation* to him. The *Tyrant* would not endure that liberty of speech: but to take off his promptnesse, commanded there should be twenty stripes given him; and as his former wounds were not quite healed, he endured an incredible pain in having them opened again with new blowes; which were laid on so lustily, that the bloud spurted as farre as where *Xin* sate; by which being, as it were, more inflamed, he grew out-ragious against the young man, whom he beleeved to have brought the Apology of *Doctour Paul* from *Pekim*; which although it were false, yet that he might not discover the true bringer, he under-went willingly a furious load of stripes; for the love of *Christ*, and for his *Holy Faith*. After this, they were led through the City to the Prison, which was three miles off; whither notwith standing the Brother was carried upon a board, being of himself not able to move.

The courage and desire of these *Valiant Confessours* grew still the stronger, by how much these torments had weakned their Body. They had no other regret, but that they had not lost their lives together with their bloud; and so in the healing of their wounds, which being almost frozen by reason of the extraordinary cold, required new cuttings and incisions from the hands of those unskilfull Surgeons of the Prison, they rejoyced in those new torments which they suffered in so glorious a cause. All the sorrow and trouble fell to the lot of *Xin*, who still thirsting after *Christian* bloud, remitted the cause of these Prisoners to the judge criminall. But the succesſe fell out contrary to his expectation, for that Judge, after he had conferred with *Xon Xu*, the President of his Tribunall, concerning the enditement of these Prisoners, pronounced them innocent: but that nevertheless, they were to expect what the Kings pleasure would be concerning them. In the meane time he gave them good words, and sent them back

back to Prison; but after five dayes, he set them at libertie, and sent them home to their Houses, under pretence of getting their wounds healed.

CHAP. 9.

The Continuation of the Persecution, and the Banishment of the Fathers out of China.

AS soon as *Xin* was acquainted with the *Sentence* which the Judge *Criminall* had given, he began to contrive new Troubles for them, that he might not seem to have persecuted Innocent Persons. First he writ and dispersed abroad libels against those *Christians*, accusing them to have printed an Apologie against certain of the chiefest *Mandarines*, in favour of the *Fathers*, who were Traytours and Disturbers of the peace of the Kingdome. After that, he privately stirred up the *Censors* of the people who had recourse to him, as to their Superiour, to receive rules from him for the ordering of the lives and manners of the people. The answer he gave them was, That they should take heed of Fa. *Vagnone* and his companions, who were Seducers of the people, and disturbers of the publick peace, by teaching a law, which did infringe their fidelitie to their Prince, the reverence of their Ancestors, the worship of the Gods, and the exercise of all other vertues, which have been from all times so highly esteemed in *China*; and in the conclusion, much deplored the misery and unhappinesse of those times, wherein there were so may Persons, who suffered themselves to be bewitched by such Deceivers.

Upon this, there was a *Mandarine* of the *Tribunall* of *Xin*, and two other *Doctours* of small esteem and reputation, who began to write against the *Fathers*, and one of them in particular, who had formerly been in the *Philippine* Islands, wrote, That the *Christians* did worship a *Crucified Man*; That they signed their Foreheads with the *Crosse*; That they set it on the top of their Houses and Steeples, and wore it about their necks as a Jewel; That under pretence of Preaching their Law, they had made themselves Masters of the *Philippines*, of *Malacca*, and of the *Indies*; That of late years they had slain many *Chinesses* upon no occasion given them; That their Religious men did commit horrible *Sacriledge* with the women, who frequented their Churches, drawing out all their Secrets from them under a pretence of Piety; That the designe of their coming into *China* was to conquer the Kingdom, under colour of such deceits and impostures; and that therefore undoubtedly they ought to be droven out thence, as the pest and plague of the *Common Wealth*. Besides these writings published by *Xin*, and sent to the Court of *Pekim*, he laboured so powerfully with the *Tribunals* of *Pekim*, that he perswaded them to present a *Memoriall* to the King against the Fathers, and the law which they Preached; and procured

cured also to have it signed with the Seale of the *Eunuch*, who is there in stead of *Vice-roy*.

This *Memoriall* was presented the last day of *September*; the day following they gave in another, wherein they besought the King to give a dispatch to the *Memorials* already presented. On the eighth of *October*, *Xin* presented a third; on the thirteenth day he caused a fourth to be presented by the hand of a *Tauli*; and afterward a fifth by meanes of a certain *Coli* of *Nankim*, who was one of the Kings *Remembrancers*.

For all this the Kings answer did not yet appeare; and in the meane while *Doctour Paul* wrote his second *Apologie* against all these calumnies and *Slanders*, which being joyned to his first, and to that which *Doctour Machael* made, and other *Memorials* and Treatises, made a good large volume. Thus did that primitive Church glory to defend the honour of their Holy Faith, both with their bloud and pens. The writings of our Doctours were Authorized by the patience of our Prisoners, who cheerfully under-went all the ill usage which was shewn them; partly for the satisfaction of *Xin*; and partly for want of money; the *Tyrant* not suffering the least thing in the world to be brought to us from our House. They lay three months hin the worst place of all the Prison, with Manacles on their armes: their food was only a little Rice ill-boyled, and a few hearbs without any Seasoning; and this too alwayes cold, they boyling still as much at once as might serve them three or foure dayes. If there were any Almes sent them from the *Christians*, either all or part of it was stollen from them by the Prisoners and guards, who alwayes swarmed about them like Waspes.

Father *Semedo*, and Brother *Sebastian Fernandes* were put together in one Prison, where by way of an extraordinarie favour they had allowed them half a Duck-Egge a piece, dried and salted in stead of hearbs; and although two of those Egges at least be sold for a farthing, yet was one of them divided between two men. Father *Semedo* lay continually sick nine moneths together, and through the convenience of this worthy Infirmarie, and the charity of his tenders, he was twice in great danger of death; although he was once pardoned the *Bastinadoes* he should have received by reason they found him in so weak a condition.

The other Christians fell sick likewise through their great sufferings and durance; wherefore there were severall times *Memorials* presented to *Xin*, to desire liberty, according to the custome, for them to go to their own Houses to recover themselves, having first given in good security for their returne. But there were only two or three who could obtain this leave, and that for foure dayes only: so that two happily ended their lives, only through the hardship they endured. The one of them was called *Peter Hya* of *Nankim*, aged about 22 years: he had been five years a *Christian*, of a very exemplarie life; in which time he vowed perpetuall *Chastitie*, and endeavoured to preserve it by frequent penances, and by keeping a strict watch upon his senses; not looking upon so much as his neereſt Kinſ-women; as also by frequent prayer day and night; insomuch that his knees were become horny and callous. He came every day to *Masse*, although he lived four miles off: he was very discreet in his speech,

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and of a ſincere conſcience, endeavouring to avoyd every ſmall imperfections, and the leaſt ſhadow of evill. What he got by the handy-craft trade he uſed, he ſtill gave part of it to his parents, and the poore *Chriſtians*: he was very patient of injuries, ſaying, He ought to be a lambe who would imitate *Chriſt*; and ſuch a one did he ſhew himſelfe to be, more than ever, in his laſt ſickneſſe: for it being contrary to the lawes of that Kingdom to ſuffer any priſoner to die in priſon, *Xin* ſent to the Father of the ſaid *Peter*, that he ſhould take him home till he were recovered; but the Father through meere hatred to his ſonne, becauſe he was a *Chriſtian*, would not receive him. Then *Xin* ſent him by the Sergeants to his Mother-in-law, who becauſe ſhe was an *Idolatreſſe*, uſed him very wickedly, yet did he never ſhew the leaſt ſigne of diſcontent, but alwaies of modeſty and admirable patience. At length, when he was neere death, he was fetcht back into priſon, from whence he flew into eternall libertie. And this was the firſt lay-man who died there in priſon for his religion; his corps was granted to his Father to bury it, but without any Ceremony at all.

The ſecond who dyed in priſon was called *Hierome Vem*; he was taken in our houſe coming thither to aſſiſt us: he alſo died of pure ſufferance. His wife preſented many *Memorialls* to the *Mandarines*, that he might be brought home to recover his health, but all was in vaine. At length ſhe had recourſe to *Xin*, who underſtanding that her husband was a *Chriſtian*, gave her no other anſwer but this, You ſee what good you get by the religion they profeſſe; and with this anſwer left her diſconſolate and quite out of hope: not long after her husband died with ſo much the more glory, by how much the leſſe he had of humane help, in that ſickneſſe he ſo patiently endured for the love of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and the maintenance of his religion.

The death of theſe men did ſtirre up in the reſt of the *Chriſtian* priſoners a holy envie, and a new fervour to ſuffer for *Chriſt*; neither were the *Chriſtians* without wanting to ſhew themſelves true followers of that perſecuted religion. They divided the priſons among them, ſo that every day the *Chriſtian* priſoners were viſited, and ſuccoured as much as might be, and had alſo notice given them of the deſignes and proceedings of *Xin*, and the other *Mandarines*: neither were they content with this, but relieved alſo the wives and children of the priſoners, pawning ſometimes their houſhold-ſtuffe, that they might not want wherewithall to do it.

Captain *Ignatius Cin*, although he was but newly converted to the faith, yet was as forward and eminent in this work of *Charitie*, as could poſſibly be deſired; as alſo three other families, with the hazzard of being made infamous for ever; namely, that of *Lucius Ciam*, Captain of armes; that of *Andrew Hiam* a ſmith; and that of *Francis* a guilder; where I cannot but admire, the great charity of the ſaid *Andrew*, who having received ſome crownes from Father *Vagnone* for the reliefe of the priſoners, made no uſe of them, but by the daily pains and labour of himſelfe and his ſonne, made proviſion every day for two priſons, reſtoring afterwards to the Father the mony he had put in his hands. There were alſo certaine devout *Chriſtian* women, who making a purſe out of the fruit of their labors, beſtow'd it in the priſons according to the neceſſities of the priſoners there:

there was also one, who being himselfe a prisoner, spared still something out of the penny, which was given him every day for his maintenance: and when he had made up a small summe, he divided it among the most necessitous of the prisoners, with so much the greater liberalitie, by how much the industry of that *Charitie* was more subtle.

At the beginning, when the *Fathers* were first apprehended, there were not wanting certain wicked persons, who feigning themselves to be ministers of justice, went from house to house to disturbe the *Christians*, on purpose to draw mony from them; and if in searching every corner of the house, they happened to finde any Images, they threatned to accuse them to *Xin*. This lasted till a *Mandarine*, who had notice of this roguery, apprehended many of them, and caused them to be well *Bastinadoed*, and one of them for no other cause, but that he had inform'd against a man to the *Tauli*, that he was a *Christian*. Nevertheless, there were some accused before *Xin*, only for being *Christians*; he accepted the accusation, and remitted it to the Court *Criminall*, whither the highest offenders are sent. They were rigorously examined, and after that declared innocent, with a foule staine upon *Xin*, both of injustice and ignorance.

Neither was the infamy lesse which he received by the words of two great *Mandarines*. The one of them (called *Hò*) in a great assembly of *Letterati*, asked him, For what reason he had imprisoned the *Fathers*? and he answering; Because they preached a law contrary to theirs; the other replied, Why do you not then imprison so many others, who follow laws much more contrary to ours, than that of the *Fathers* is? They have not, said *Xin*, any accusers. And these *Fathers*, replyed *Hò*, Who accuseth them to your Lordship? He knew not what answer to make him, but seeing himselfe thus confuted, lest there should be a laughter raised at him; he withdrew himselfe out of the *Assemblie*. The other, who was *President* of the *Tribunall* of warre, sharply reproved him, that without reason he had so mis-used the *Fathers*, who had committed no fault, nor had ever offended him: And although *Xin* did endeavour to justifie himselfe, yet the *President* threatned to accuse him to the King, for a disturber of the peace of the Kingdome, and in effect he dispatched a *Courrier* to *Pekim*, with a stoute *Memoriall* against him; which nevertheless he did afterwards re-call, by reason that many *Mandarines* did interpose themselves in the businesse; but he would never after maintain any friendship with so unjust a person.

Very admirable at the same time was the *Charitie* of a new *Christian* of *Pekim*, who had taken the degree of *Batchelor*; who having understood of the *Fathers* imprisonment, ranne to *Nankim*; and although he had never seen them, he went to visit them, and much assisted them in their necessities: and not only invited, but also perswaded severall of his friends to do the like; who extended also their *Charitie* to the other *Christian prisoners*: And for this cause only he remained there many months; he accompanied the *Christians* to the *Tribunalls*, healed their stripes, encouraged and comforted them all; to which the quality and reputation of so grave and learned a person did very much conduce. He undertooke also to dispute with a *Mandarine*, who had written a declaration against the *Fathers* in

favour of *Xin*, and used such powerfull perswasions to him, that he changed his resolution, and brought him to favour the *Fathers* so farre, that he did publiquely praise and extoll them.

In the mean while, our adversary seeing that the Kings answer was delayed, used his utmost endeavour to gaine the *Colao* to his party, who was (otherwise) not much averse to us; and at length perswaded him to present a *Memoriall* to the King, by the hands of an *Eunuch*, whom he had already prepared for the businesse with a very great bribe, to procure the Kings order upon it. The *Eunuchs* passed this pitition so secretly among themselves, that without showing it to the King, they brought it againe to the *Colao*, requiring him in the Kings name to draw up an order for our banishment; the which he did in this manner.

For as much as we are informed by the Collaterall Lypu *of the third* Tribunall *of* Pekim, *that there remain in this our Court certain strangers, who do expect our good leave and dispatch; and the said* Tribunall *hath besought us, that we would send our orders to the* Provinces, *that they should send them away to their owne Countries,* Alphonsus Vagnone *and* Jacobus Pantoia *with their companions, who under pretence of preaching a certain law, do much disturbe the people, and also secretly endeavour to make an insurrection in the Kingdom: We do therefore ordaine, that notice be given to the* Lypu *of* Nankim, *to give order to the* Mandarines *of the respective* Provinces, *wherein any of these men shall be found, that they send them with a guard of Souldiers to the Province and City of* Canton, *to the end they may returne from thence to their owne Countries, leaving* China *in peace and quietnesse. And because the last year we were given to understand by severall persons, that* Jacobus Pantoia *and his companions, who came into this Kingdome to enjoy the delights and pleasures thereof, were very fit to be employed in the emendation of our* Calender, *whereupon they were aggregated to the number of the* Mandarines; *yet notwithstanding the said aggregation, we will and command, that they be forthwith dismissed, and sent away to their owne Countries. Let this sentence be given to the* Lypu *and to the* Ciayan *the twenty eighth of the* twelfth Moone.

Assoone as this Order was drawne up, at the foot of the *Memoriall*, the *Colao* sent it back into the *Palace* to be signed by the King according to the custome. Presently the *Eunuchs* being all gained by the Presents of *Xin*, fraudulently contrived a way to get it subscribed; or, as some say, they put it among a great heape of petitions, so that the King signed it without taking notice what it was; or as others say, they perswaded the Queen to subscribe it, to whom the King doth often remit the signing of *Memorialls*. And truly it is not very probable, that the King who had lent but a deafe eare to so many former *Memorialls*, should be so soone perswaded to it; besides that, it is more conformable to the stile of that Court to have sent them rather to some *Province* lying in the middle of the Kingdom, than to send them away after they had gained so perfect a knowledge and full information of the affaires of *China*. However it was, the sentence was published the fourteenth of *February*, which is the solemne beginning of their new year.

The news was blowne of a sudden through the whole Kingdome: The *Mandarines* of *Nanchium* in the Province of *Canton*, where Father *Gaspar Ferrera*

Ferrera was, did in a very quiet and civill manner give him notice of the order, allowing him with all liberty to ſtay till his companions came. Notwithſtanding, the Father thought it more fit to ſell the Houſe, and to retire himſelfe to another *Miſſion*, according to the inſtructions he had received from Father *Longobardus*. In *Hamlu* there were two Fathers, who were brought thither by *Doctour Michaels* meanes; but they had no notice given them of the Order, the *Mandarines* forbearing, as it ſeemeth, to do it, out of reſpect to their Protectour, who writ to the Father ſuperiour to ſend him two more, which accordingly he did with very good ſucceſſe. Father *John Rocca* with two others of *Nanchiam*, where he left Brother *Paſquel Mendez* for the conſolation of thoſe Chriſtians, came to *Chien Chiam* in the Province of *Chiamſi*, where he kept himſelfe private in the Houſes of the Chriſtians, untill the Lord ſent better times.

In *Pekim* the *Colao* made excuſes to the *Fathers*, in that he was obliged by his place to give them notice of the Kings Order, promiſing them alſo his Aſſiſtance to hinder their going, in caſe they ſhould think good to preſent a *Memoriall* to the King to that effect. But all paſſages were ſo ſhut up, that it was impoſſible for them ever to preſent one: wherefore giving place to time and neceſſity, having encouraged the *Chriſtians*, after the diſtribution of *Palmes*, that very *Sunday* they departed for *Canton*, the *Mandarines* having ſtrictly forbid the people to offer them any injuries by the way: and left the Houſe which the King had granted them in the cuſtody of a good *Chriſtian*, having obtained a licence of the *Mandarines* to that effect.

The greateſt ſtirre was in *Nankim*, where aſſoon as the *Courier* was arrived, he would needs give notice himſelfe to the *Fathers* of their baniſhment, thinking it a high favour, that they were not cut in pieces. Aſſoon as it was known abroad, the *Mandarines* came to viſit them with much honour and congratulations. On the ſixt day of *March*, the *Fathers* were brought firſt before a Tribunall of ſix *Mandarines*; and after that, before *Xin* to be examined, with a halter about their necks; and Father *Semedo* was brought upon a board, not being able through weakneſſe to ſtand upon his leggs. *Xin* after another examination, declared, That although they had deſerved death for preaching a new law in *China*, yet their life was granted them by the Kings clemencie; notwithſtanding, he condemned them to receive ten *Baſtinadoes* apiece, and ſo to be ſent away to their own Country. Father *Semedo* was excuſed by reaſon of his ſickneſſe, But Fa*Vagnone* received them in ſo cruel a manner, that he lay very ill upon it, and it was above a moneth before his wounds were cloſed. In concluſion, their houſe and goods were confiſcated; and many books were publiſhed againſt them, which declared them to be unworthy the name of *Letterati*. They themſelves were put into very narrow Cages of wood, (ſuch as are uſed in that Country to tranſport perſons condemned to death, from one place to another) with Iron Chaines about their necks, and Manacles on their Wriſts, with their haire hanging down long, and their Gownes accoutred in an odde faſhion, as a ſigne of a ſtrange and Barbarous people. The thirtieth of Aprill, they were brought out of Priſon to a *Tribunall*, where they were ſhut up in thoſe ſtraight Frames,

and ſealed with the Kings Seale; and order was given to the *Mandarines* of the Guard, to take them out at ſuch times, as were allowed them to eate and ſleep in. In this manner were the Fathers carried with an inexpreſſible noiſe, which the Miniſters made with their ratling of Fetters aud Chaines. Before them were carried three *Tablets*, written on with great letters, declaring the Kings Sentence, and forbidding all men to have any commerce or converſation with them.

In this equipage they went out of *Nankim*, and were carried in theſe Cages for thirty dayes together, untill they came to the firſt City of the Province of *Canton*, where they were preſented to the *Tutan*; who having ſharply reproved them for preaching a new law in *China*, cauſed them to be conſigned to the *Mandarines*: whence they were carried in that manner throughout all the *Tribunals* with all the people running after them. In concluſion, they were taken out, and after a few dayes were ſent away to *Macao* along with the Fathers which came from *Pekim*.

The *Chriſtians* which remained in Priſon, after many ſufferings and miſuſages, were in concluſion, by the power and ſollicitation of their adverſarie *Xin*, condemned to receive 70 *Baſtinadoes* apiece. The two Lay-Brothers, becauſe they were *Chineſſes*, after ſeverall out-rages and *Baſtinadoes*, were condemned, one of them to ſerve at the Tartars wall, the other to tow the Kings barques, as Oxen do in our Country. Nevertheleſſe, there was ſeen in all the *Chriſtians* a wonderfull conſtancie and joy to ſuffer for Chriſt, who ſhewed ſo much cheerfulneſſe outwardly, that the *Gentiles* did much admire at it. There was a Woman, who having heard that our Brother *Sebaſtian Farnandes* had been Tortured at an examination by the ſqueezing and pinching of his hands and fingers, deſired that favour of the Lord, that ſhe her ſelf might likewiſe undergo it; and her prayer was granted her in part; for being one day in prayer, ſhe ſaw in a Viſion *Xin* ſitting on his Tribunall, who commanded her to renounce the Faith of *Chriſt*, which ſhe not conſenting to, he cauſed the ſame Torture to be given to her. When the Viſion was ended, the Marks were to be ſeen for ſome time on her hands, and the black and blue ſtripes on her body; which was a very great comfort and contentment to her.

CHAP. 10,

How things began to be calmed again after the Perſecution; and of the Foundation of ſeverall Reſidencies.

ALl the other perſecutions, which happened before this of *Nankim*, were particular, and commonly the fire went not farre. For the cauſe belonging to the *Magiſtrates* of that *Province*, the ſentence was alwayes given there, without extending it ſelf to the *Reſidencies* of other remote *Provinces*.

Provinces. But in this *Perſecution* the Tyrant accounted it too meane an enterpriſe to diſcharge his choler on the *Chriſtians* of *Nankim* only. And therefore he would ſtrike at the *Chriſtianitie* of the whole Kingdom, to root it out at one blow. He preſented the cauſe to the King, that his ſentence might include all, with the greater rigour and authoritie. But this Tragedie being ended, the *Fathers* being baniſhed from their *Reſidencies*, their Houſes confiſcated and ſold, the Churches ruined, and that of *Nankim* thrown to the ground by the fury of *Xin*, their goods loſt; and finally, the Fathers of *Nankim* ſent away from that Court with ſo much hubbub and noiſe, that it ſeemed to be the day of Judgment; it is hardly to be believed, how much miſchiefe followed upon it, how much good was hindred by it, and how every thing was changed. The *Fathers* lay hid, the Chriſtians were in continuall feare, the *Gentiles* encouraged, the Tyrant Victorious, and his followers ſo free and inſolent, that every one was ready to trouble the Chriſtans, and to accuſe them, eſpecially in the City of *Nankim*.

Nevertheleſſe, *Quia dominus judicavit melius de malis benè facere quàm mala nulla eſſe permittere*, according to his Divine diſpenſation he drew much good even from theſe evils. For although the liberty and facilitie of making new *Chriſtians* was impeded at that time; yet it manifeſted the conſtancie and valour of thoſe that were already ſuch; all of them ſhewing how highly they did eſteem the being followers of the *Law of God*, and how much they did deſire to keep the Fathers in their Kingdom, that they might be ſtill inſtructed in the Doctrine which they had already received: and ſo, many of them, which live in other Cities, either ſent, or came in perſon, to receive the Fathers, and carry them to their Houſes. Which was the reaſon, that, except in the two Courts, we found good ſhelter in other places, whereby the *Chriſtians* were comforted in their ſufferings, and confirmed in their *Faith*, and the Churches (I ſpeak not of materiall ones) maintained and upheld, as alſo many new ones ſet up, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

At the Court of *Pekim* there remained two of our Brothers, in the place of Sepulture given us by the King: for, being *Chineſſes* they were not comprehended in the Sentence of baniſhmnt, wherefore under pretence of Piety and Devotion, whereof the *Chineſſes* make great eſteem, they remained there to keep it, although with much trouble and many contraſts which they had with the *Eunuchs*: for they, aſſoon as they ſaw the Fathers out of the Court, thought the Houſe had been without a head, and that the brothers alone would never have had ſtrength enough to reſiſt their batteries: and therefore it is almoſt incredible, what attempts they made every way to arrive at their deſign, and how many times they brought the brothers into the Tribunalls, accuſing and troubling them, but alwayes to no effect. For the Lord, who had granted that place to the Fathers, that they might be buried there afrer their death, would keep it for them, to ſerve them as a retreate and hiding place, even in their life time; diſpoſing it ſo by his providence, that *Doctour Paul* ſhould reſide in the Court at that time; and that by his authoritie he ſhould overthrow all the plots of our enemies.

Once

Once especially the *Eunuchs* had put their business in such a forme, that it it seemed impossible for them not to carry their design; partly because they had (as they said) corrupted some of the Magistrates with bribes; and partly (which was more considerable) because they had the *Chi Fu*, or Governour of the City on their side, to whom they had spoken very effectually concerning the business, and he had promised them his favour in it. The worst was, they gave the Brothers such short warning to appeare, that they had hardly time to give *Doctour Paul* notice of it, and he to write a letter to the *Governour* of the City, giving Order to the Servant which carried it, that he should give it him, in what place soever he met him, although it were in the street: and so he did, finding him almost entring into the *Tribunal*; (for in *Pekim* they are without the Houses where they dwell) where there was gathered together a great company of *Eunuchs*, who did already assure themselves of good successe, by reason of the care and diligence they had used in the business. The *Governour* after he had read the letter, called the cause: and the *Eunuchs*, with greater store of words than reasons began to plead for themselves. The Brother being called, did no more but shew his Patent, wherein was contained how the Officer, and former *Governour*, by Order from the King, had granted that House, and the Gardens thereunto adjoyning, for the Sepulture of Father *Matthæus Riccius* and his companions. The *Governour* took it and read it, and in stead of the favour he was to do the *Eunuchs*, did strengthen it with one Seale more, putting to it the Seale of his Office, and telling the *Eunuchs*, That which is once well done, ought not to be undone. So the suit was ended for the Fathers advantage, not only this, but also many other times; whilest the neer Kindred of the imprisoned *Eunuch* lived, they never gave over their endeavours to re-gain it; whereby they got often some small summes of money, which were given them on purpose to avoyd suits and contrasts.

The Brothers, who kept the House, making use of this opportunity, went sometimes one, sometimes another to visit the *Christians* of that City: and after the persecution began to be over, and the fury of the tempest was allayed, one of the *Fathers* was sent thither in diguise; who although he was glad to lie hid there, yet did he much assist the *Christians*, and under the protection of the old ones, converted many new ones also.

The House which we had in *Canton*, the most Southerly Province of *China*, was totally ruined; for, although at the beginning there was another small House taken, where some of the Lay-Brothers should have resided for the reception of the *Fathers* in their passage to the City of *Nanhium*, yet upon better consideration it seemed good to them to take it wholly away, because the place was very subject to tempests and troubles. The *Father* who had his *Residence* there, as I have already said, went up farther into the Country, as did also the Lay-Brother, with a promise nevertheless, and obligation upon him, to come and visit the *Christians* of that Country every year.

Father *Rocca*, with other two *Fathers*, who, (as we have said,) departed from *Nankiam*, a City in the Province of *Kiamsi*, retired to the City of *Kiencham*, in the same Province; where they were visited by a *Christian*, named

Stephen, of a Noble Family, and one of the chiefeſt of that place, being alſo the Sonne of a *Mandarine*, who was afterwards himſelf converted to the *Chriſtian* Religion. The Fathers at their arrivall there, were received with all manner of *Chriſtian* love and charitie, and were lodged in a houſe neerto the walls of the City, ſuch a one as they cal a *Houſe of Studies*, where they had an appartiment provided for them, conſiſting of foure chambers, with the Offices belonging to them, and a faire Hall, which ſerved them for a Chappel. At the beginning there came thither only thoſe of the houſhold of their Hoſt, who were all *Chriſtians*. Afterward, their Kindred who were *Gentiles*, and their moſt Familiar acquaintance; and by occaſion of theſe Viſits, there was alwayes ſome one or other gained to the Faith; and theſe likewiſe brought in others; and ſo by little and little this Chriſtianity encreaſed ſo, that when I came thither about two years after, they ſaid *Maſſe* on Holy dayes, with Muſicall Inſtruments, and with the concourſe of a good number of Chriſtians. They who played on the Inſtruments, were the Sonnes of Chriſtians; and among them the *Letterati*, and thoſe of the beſt quality ſerved at the *Maſſe* in their coates foure at a time, as I ſaw at my being there. At this day there is a good *Reſidence*, with a copious and well inſtructed Chriſtianity, which hath annexed to it two Churches in the Province of *Chincheo*, which bordereth upon it, and are viſited every year by the *Father* of this Houſe.

The *Reſidence* of *Hamcheu* doth flouriſh moſt of all under the Protection of *Dr. Michael*. For though the *Fathers* went out from thence publickly at noone day, that the world might take notice of their obedience to the Kings proclamation, accompanied by the ſaid *Dr.* and the *Chriſtians* of the beſt quality; yet *Dr. Michael* having prepared a faire appartiment in his *Palace*, provided with Chambers, Offices, Chappel, Hall, *&c.* did build alſo a new range of Chambers, furniſhing them all after our faſhion, that there might be roome enough for all of us, if there ſhould be occaſion; and when he had fitted every thing, he ſent for the *Fathers*, who came thither very ſecretly, although he was not very ſollicitous to conceale them: But three years after told *Xin*, who being a native of that City, was now come to live at his owne *Palace*, That he had the *Fathers* with him in his houſe, and perſwaded him to come and viſit them, and diſcourſe with them; Telling him, he ſhould finde them other manner of men than he took them for.

This houſe was in thoſe troubleſome times the moſt ſecure, commodious, and eaſie refuge, which the *Fathers* had. Here lived the *Superiour*, hither came all buſineſſe, and upon any ſtraite, the greateſt part of the *Fathers*, who ſometimes made a conſiderable number: and although there was care taken, that no *Gentile* ſhould come in amongſt them, unleſſe he were very well knowne, nevertheleſſe, there was *Maſſe* ſaid, and a ſermon every Holy day, with a great concourſe of *Chriſtians*, and a good number of new ones converted to the faith.

The greateſt tempeſt fell upon the Church at *Nankim*: for as the *Fathers* were priſoners a long time there, and after they had received their ſentence, were ſent out in cages, being carried through the whole City with a great noiſe and ſhouting of the guard, and an infinite concourſe of people,

people, their caſe was more notorious and ignominious, and the *Gentiles* were more alienated from the *Chriſtians*, accuſing them upon every occaſion to the *Magiſtrate*. Wherefore for diverſe years after there was almoſt every year ſome particular vexation, and the *Chriſtians* were brought before the *Tribunalls*, and troubled, and many times were *Baſtinadoed*; all which they ſuffered with great conſtancy and cheerfulneſſe, *gaudentes à conſpectu Concilij, quoniam digni habiti ſunt pro nomine Jeſu contumelium pati*. Neither truly is there any doubt, but as the Lord did exerciſe this Church of *Nankim* with particular tribulations, ſo he did alſo endowe it more particularly with the vertue of *Patience*, as was ſeen upon all occaſions.

In this manner were our ancient houſes demoliſhed, although the *Chriſtians* belonging to them, were preſerved, who divided themſelves into companies, making by that means ſeverall *Co-fraternities*: the moſt ancient and pious among them did viſit and comfort the reſt: the *Fathers* alſo at certaine times came to confeſſe and communicate them, and ſtaied amongſt them as long as they could: But as they durſt not ſtay long, at leaſt in ſome places, they were forced to find out other places of abode, which was an occaſion of laying the foundation of new Reſidencies, which were afterwards brought to perfection, and became well ordered Houſes and Churches, as they are to be ſeen at this preſent time.

The firſt *Reſidence*, which was begun in the time of our troubles and *Baniſhment*, was in the *Province* of *Kiamſi*, in the City of *Kiencham*, whereof I have formerly ſpoken.

The ſecond was the Province of *Nankim* in the City of *Kiatim*, where *Dr. Ignatius* dwelt, a *Chriſtian* of great power and authority, who was afterwards *Vice-roy* of the Province of *Xantum*: he, aſſoone as he had notice of the ſentence pronounced againſt the *Fathers*, immediately diſpatched one of his Sonnes to *Father Lazarus Catanæus*, who lived in *Hamcheu*, with a letter, wherein after the uſuall complements, he wrote him only theſe words, *There is a buſineſſe of importance, which I muſt neceſſarily treate of with your Reverence before you leave this Kingdome*. When this letter was brought to the *Fathers*, they were putting themſelves in a readineſſe to depart out of that City, as accordingly they did, with a deſigne to go to *Xanhai*, which was *Dr. Pauls* Country: but having received this invitation, that they might give ſatisfaction to both parties, the *Fathers* divided themſelves, and Father *Francis Sanbiaſi*, went to the City of *Kiatim* to *Dr. Ignatius*, who, by that time the *Father* arrived there, had got ready the lodgings neere his houſe, which ſerved him for a place of ſtudy, and ſtood within the walls of his *Palace*, being very convenient for his occaſions, having ſeverall Chambers and a Chappel to ſay *Maſſe* in, and being provided with all neceſſary furniture: and although that Chappel was bigge enough for the reception of the *Chriſtians* of his owne houſhold; yet nevertheleſſe, he did afterwards build in the ſame place a faire Church, which though it was not very great, yet was of perfect good *Architecture*. The *Fathers* did afterwards draw many people to them by their preaching and diſcourſes; ſo that when I was there about foure years after, I found a well formed *Chriſtianity*, very devout, and both men, women and children, very diligent in hearing of *Maſſe* and ſermons, as alſo in confeſſing themſelves, with ſuch an

an affection to the *Holy Sacrament of the Altar*, that they seemed even *Christians* brought up in *Europe*. I forbeare to mention many examples of much edification, referring my Reader to the yearly letters.

This House also served for an *Academie* to our people that came newly over: for the City being very private, and having but little trade, and the Houses being spacious and convenient, they who were to study the *Chinesse* language and letters, did constantly come thither: so that the number of *Fathers* and Students (who were *Chinesses* of *Macao*, whom we bred up and instructed in vertue and the learning of *China*, that they might afterward be helpfull to us in propagating the Gospel) was about eleven or twelve, which considering the time, was a great number.

Father Catanæus went to *Xanhai*, where he laboured in the same manner, confirming the old *Christians*, and adding new ones continually to the *Church*. In the meane time *Dr. Paul* came from Court to his owne house, and by his presence gave a greater libertie, with lesse danger to preach and reduce that people: So that the Baptismes grew to such a number, that the *Father* was forced to write for assistance, and to call a companion to him, and sometimes they were three; and *Dr. Paul*, to enlarge that Church, did in a manner pull it all downe, and build it a new; and so it continueth to this day with a very numerous *Christianity* belonging to it.

At the same time began the *Residence* of *Xamsi*, which hath at this day belonging to it, one of the most flourishing *Christianities* of all *China*. It had its beginning by occasion of a *Christian* named *Peter*; who went to be *Mandarine* in that *Province*, and carried with him Father *Julius Alexis*, that he might be there in safetie under his protection, and that he might also prove the disposition of that people, whether they would be apt to entertaine the preaching of the *Gospel* in a place where the *Fathers* had never yet come; and although the House was not perfected at that time, yet things were put in such order, that it was brought afterwards to perfection with much facilitie, as we shall shew anon.

In *Macao* they were more particularly sensible of the successe of the *Persecution* and troubles; by which, foure *Fathers* of the two Courts were brought prisoners to that Colledge. Nevertheless, by the resentment of those troubles, their desires were more inflamed to enter afresh upon the work, and to assist their brethren, who remained behinde, exposed to all dangers and sufferings, labouring under the heavie burthen of the *Propagation of the Gospel*. All the difficultie was, how to get the foure *Fathers* backe again, by reason they were so well knowne there, and were particularly named in the proclamation for their *Banishment:* it was judged therefore more fit for them to delay their returne for a while, during which time the Lord was pleased to take to himselfe the *Fathers* of *Pekim*, namely, Father *Jacobus Pantoia*, and Father *Sabatinus* de *Ursis*: who having been the ancientest labourers in that vine-yard, were called first of all to receive their reward. It was more dangerous for the other two *Fathers* of *Nankim* to returne backe againe, by reason their banishment was more publique; they having been carried before many *Tribunalls*, and through several *Provinces*, during that *Persecution*. Nevertheless, Father *Alvarus Semedo*, who had lived there a lesser time, and consequently was lesse

 knowne,

knowne, returned back about three years after, having changed the name and Sir-name, which he uſed in that Country; and about two years after that, Father *Vagnone* did the like; who is there living at this day in the Court of *Xanſi*; where, although he be growne very old, yet is he as painfull and diligent, as any young man whatſoever.

In this condition ſtood the ſtate of *Chriſtian* affaires, which ſtill proſpered and encreaſed in every place, by the great induſtrie and caution which was uſed; as alſo by the protection of ſome *Chriſtians* of quality, as likewiſe of ſome *Gentiles* that were our friends; and by this means the ancient Churches were confirmed, and ſome new ones ſet up; when the ſecond tempeſt began in *Nankim*; which although it were not ſo great as the firſt, becauſe it came not to the Kings ears, ye was it fuller of trouble and vexation to us.

CHAP. 11.

Of the ſecond perſecution of Nankim, *and of the Martyrdome of a Chriſtian, named* Andrew.

THe affaires of *Chriſtianitie* in *China* ſeemed to be in a calme and proſperous condition, and we had almoſt as much libertie, and as much fruit of our endeavours as we could reaſonably have expected. Only in the City of *Nankim*, which was much diſtempered by reaſon of the former *Perſecution*, there were alwaies ſome troubles more or leſſe, according as the occaſion happened; but the beſt was, that they were never ſo great, that many perſons were engaged in them. In the year 1622. in the *Province* of *Xantum*, there happened a rebellion by a certain people of a ſect which they call *Palien Kiao*, whereof we have formerly ſpoken in its proper place. Theſe aſſaulted and tooke the barques laden with victuals, which paſſed through that *Province* to *Pekim*; and after that, certain Townes; and laſt of all, they tooke a City, where they put very many to the ſword. This news preſently alarmed the neighbouring *Provinces*, and eſpecially the Court; whence the *Mandarines* immediately diſpatched orders through the whole Kingdome for the apprehending and chaſtiſing all people of this *Sect*. In the more remote *Provinces*, there was no great heed taken to this *Proclamation*; but in the Province of *Nankim*, which bordereth upon that of *Xantum*, there were great rewards propoſed to him that ſhould diſcover any of that *Sect*.

It happened about that time, that certain Sergeants did moleſt and trouble a neighbour of a certain *Chriſtian*, who going out to help him, becauſe he ſaw him much injured without any pretence of reaſon for it, drew them all upon himſelfe, who following of him into his houſe with much rage and paſſion, & finding there a *Croſſe* & an Image of our *Saviour*, they tooke them and carried them to the *Mandarine*, accuſing that *Chriſtian* to be a follower of the *Law of the Lord of Heaven*; which was all one with

that

that of the *Palien Kiao*. The *Mandarine* ſent to apprehend him, and giving him the rack, he queſtioned him, who were the other followers of his *Sect*: He named only the *Paynter*, who had paynted the Image, and was alſo a Chriſtian. He being apprehended and tormented in the ſame manner, (whether it were through ignorance, or that it ſeemed to him, that he did by that means give a greater authority to the law he followed,) impeached many of his companions; naming at leaſt fourty, and among them thoſe who were left as heads and overſeers of the reſt; and in abſence of the *Fathers* did aſſemble the reſt in the *Chappels* and *Oratories*, where they uſed to exhort them to vertue and piety.

Upon this, rather ſimple confeſſion, than malicious accuſation, the *Mandarine* ſent preſently to apprehend thoſe perſons who had been named to him, ſo that it ſeemed as if the furies of hell had been turned looſe that day into *Nankim*. There was no other noiſe heard in the ſtreets, but ratling of chaines, the voyces and exclamations of the Sergeants, who asked, Where is the houſe? Whither is he gone? Where ſhall I finde him? When will he come? Being ſo much the more eager in their purſuit of the *Chriſtians*, by how much the more they ſaw the *Mandarines* bent to ruine them. When they found out any one of them, they preſently ruſhed into the houſe, & ſeized upon their *Beads*, *Croſſes*, *Images*, *Books*, *Catechiſmes*, for commonly all of them uſed to have them in their houſes. Then they ſeized on their perſons, dragging them through the ſtreets with a chaine faſtened about their necks, and manacles about their wriſts, carrying before them the enſignes of their faith which they had taken, with a great noiſe, and out-cry of the people, that they were of the *Sect* of *Palien Kiao*. The number of thoſe who were taken was thirty foure, beſide the two firſt, and they were all preſently put to the torment of preſſing their hands and feet, to make them diſcover others. But they taking warning by the ignorance of the two firſt, ſaid only that they were *Chriſtians*, they and their wives and children; that they followed the *Law of the true God*, who alone can puniſh and reward both in this life and the next; and that their law was not the law of *Palien Kiao*, neither had it any reſemblance to it: and more than this they ſaid not any thing.

Among the priſoners there was a certain *Chriſtian* named *John Yao*. This man had been formerly impriſoned (as we have already related) with the *Fathers* in the other perſecution by *Xin*, & had been ſometimes *Baſtinadoed* before the *Tribunals*, & was at laſt condemned to be the Kings ſlave for certain years (which is much like putting into the Gallies with us:) but was now returned from his ſlavery, and began again to edifie the brethren by the example of his holy life, in the ſame maner as he had formerly done in that City. This man hearing that ſome *Chriſtians* were apprehended, and that they ſought for him, never ſtaid till he was diſcovered, but went of his owne accord and preſented himſelfe to the *Mandarine*, and kneeling in the ſight of the *Chriſtians* that were tormented, told him, that he was a *Chriſtian*, and that the *Law of Chriſt* was the true law, and other ſuch like things which the Lord put in his heart. When the *Mandarine* heard him, he told him (with what intention is not knowne) that he did not ſee in him any garbe or appearance of a preacher of the law, and therefore charged

him to be gone, and never to appear before him again. Whereupon *John* roſe up and went his way, leaving an eminent Teſtimony of the *Divine Law*, and the *Chineſſes* aſtoniſhed at ſo great a courage.

Such another thing was done by the ſame *Mandarine*, although the end and reaſon which moved him to do it, were not known. Of the ſix and thirty which he had apprehended and tormented, he ſet foure and twenty of them at liberty; and the others who did uſe to aſſemble the *Chriſtians*, and preach to them, he ſent before the ſix chief Tribunals; where they were all *Baſtinadoed*, ſome at one, and ſome at another; the worſt Tribunal of all being that of an *Eunuch*; who having nothing of Humanity in him but his outward ſhape, not conſidering they had bin already tormented and *Baſtinadoed* by the other *Mandarines*, commanded twenty blows apiece to be giving to each of them; by which the good *Chriſtians* were ſo weakned, that they were faine to be laid upon boards, and to be carried back upon mens ſhouldiers into Priſon.

But they were not uſed ſo by the *Quecum* (who is equall to one of our Dukes) before whom they were brought: for ſeeing them in ſo miſerable a condition by reaſon of the torments and ſtripes they had received, he did not only not cauſe them to be beaten, but complaining of their ill uſage, ſaid publiquely, That he was well informed concerning the Religion they profeſſed; and that it was a good and true *Law*, and ſo ſent them away with good words; that *Gentile* giving a cleare Teſtimony to our *Holy Faith*, to which thoſe *Chriſtians* had born witneſſe with their bloud.

While theſe things were doing, the chief *Mandarine* of the ſix before whom they were preſented, drew up the Sentence againſt them; which being faithfully tranſlated out of the *Chineſſe* language, runneth thus: *The Law of the Lord of heaven is falſe, it blindeth the underſtanding of men, and cauſeth dangerous aſſemblies. Of late years there was a* Memoriall *preſented againſt it to the King, who did very ſeverely prohibite it. And now they who follow that* Law, *are convinced not to have obeyed his commands. Wherefore according to the* Lawes *of the Kingdom there ought to be an inquiſition made againſt them, and they to be rigorouſly puniſhed. But conſidering they are men of little knowledge, or underſtanding, we do order, that the ſtrangers of other Countries be ſent home with a Guard to convoy them; and that they ſhall all have the charges of their journey defrayed out of the* Kings exchequer *: but for the Natives of this Court, we condemn them to carry a board about their necks for a moneth* (which is a kind of puniſhment we have formerly given an account of) *and when that time is expired, they ſhall be carried before the* Tribunal, *where they were examined, and there they ſhall be admoniſhed to obſerve the Kings orders, and not to follow this* Law *any longer. The Books, Images, and ſuch like things, which were found with the Chriſtians, ſhall be kept in the Kings Treaſurie.* Thus farre the ſentence of their condemnation.

The *Fathers* had heard nothing of theſe proceedings at *Nankim*, when there arrived at *Hamcheu*, which is diſtant from that Court about ſix daies journey by land, a *Chriſtian* ſent on purpoſe to give them notice of the dangerous eſtate and condition of the *Chriſtians* at *Nankim*. Father *Rocca* ſuperiour of the *Miſſion* chanced to be at that time in *Hamcheu*, who preſently endeavoured to find ſome remedie for it, by ſpeaking with *Doc-*

tour

tour Michael, and writing to *Doctour Paul*, that by their letters they would perſwade the *Mandrines* of *Nankim* to ſhew ſome favour to the *Chriſtians*; which accordingly they did, with much zeale and efficacie, eſpecially *Doctour Paul*, who obſerved to them in his writings fourteen principall poynts, wherein our *Holy Law* did differ from the Sect of *Palien Kiao*. The letters had not that effect that was hoped of them, ſome of the *Mandarines* being rendered very averſe to them by the power and perſwaſion of *Xin*, who actually enjoying at that time the dignity of *Colao*, every one endeavoured to gain his favour by following his inclinations. And that was plainely ſeen by their anſwers, which are not wont to be in ſuch termes to *Mandarines* of ſo conſiderable Quality as thoſe *Chriſtians* were. The anſwer to *Doctour Paul* was, that the *Law*, which his *Lordſhip* ſaid was different from that Sect of *Palien Kiao*, was not ſo, but the very ſame, both of them profeſſing not to obey the King nor his Miniſters; as was plainly to be ſeen by the *Fathers*, who being baniſhed out of the Kingdom by the Kings order, yet were ſo audacious, that they ſtill remained there; and other things of the ſame ſtraine; which evidently ſhewed, that they who gave ſuch anſwers, were changed, as alſo for whoſe ſake they gave them.

This unpleaſing anſwer was followed by a thing of greater danger; (for in *China*, even in the quieteſt times, it is neceſſary to live very retired and reſervedly) which was the Intelligence, that *Doctour Paul* had received, how that, not many daies before, two *Mandarines* of the ſame City of *Nankim* had preſented a *Memoriall* to the King againſt the *Law of Chriſt*; both againſt the *Chineſſes* who were followers of it, as alſo the *Fathers*, that did preach and propagate it, accuſing *Doctour Michael* by name for being a *Chriſtian*, and for keeping the *Fathers* in his Houſe; they did alſo accuſe ſeverall others for keeping of them; and although they did not name *Doctour Paul*, yet it might be eaſily underſtood, that they meant him for one.

This news did require their moſt ſerious deliberation; for when a buſineſſe is brought before the King, it is alwayes of dangerous conſequence, and doth ever ſhave or flea.

Doctour Paul immediately wrote to the *Fathers*, that in what place ſoever they were, they ſhould without any farther delay reſolve to retire themſelves, and to break off all commerce with all manner of perſons whatſoever, although they thought them never ſo ſafe or truſty, giving way to the neceſſity of the times, as at that preſent was very convenient for them. *Doctour Michael* was of the contrary opinion; at leaſt he would not ſuffer thoſe which lived in his own Houſe to hide themſelves. *Doctour Ignatius* his Sonne alſo, who dwelt in the City of *Kiatim*, was of opinion, that the *Fathers* ſhould keep themſelves private and concealed; for if any thing ſhould be decreed to their diſadvantage, it could not be executed ſo ſuddenly, but that there would be time enough for them to make their eſcape, eſpecially ſince the *Mandarines* of the City were their friends.

Although this were a very young man, yet his *Father*, who lived then at the Court, was much ſatisfied with his opinion in that caſe. Nevertheleſſe, it was judged more expedient, that we ſhould withdraw our ſelves,

ſelves, before the ſtorm appeared, and that afterward thoſe, who could not hide themſelves, ſhould fly, before they were apprehended by juſtice. But the difficulty was, where to find another ſecret place beſide that where we were, which was in a very populous City, and among many of our truſty and faithfull friends: and becauſe it was ſo difficult to lie hid in that place, we did think of ſearching out ſome deſert; but by reaſon that *China* is ſo populous, that was no eaſie thing to be done: At length it was reſolved, that we ſhould all quit the habitations we were in, ſome going to the Country Houſes of the ſame *Chriſtians*, ſome to the ſepulchres of others, with a caution, that if there did not come a favourable anſwer from the King, there ſhould be boates provided in a readineſſe for to carry them up and down the Rivers, where the not remaining long in any certain place, would be a good way to ſecure them, till the Lord ſhould direct them to a better.

During this time, *Doctour Paul* kept a man on purpoſe in the City of *Sucheu* (where the *Vice-roy* of the Province hath his Reſidence; for he may not dwell in the City of *Nankim*, becauſe it is the Kings Court, as well as *Pekim*) that aſſoon as the Kings anſwer came, he might preſently bring him word of it: and according to the ſtile of that Country, it was conceived, that it might be delayed yet many dayes. The *Fathers* expected ten weeks to their great diſcommodation and inconvenience, becauſe thoſe things which might eaſily have been had in the Towns and Cities, could not be come by but with a great deale of trouble, as they lay thus hid; neither did any anſwer come in all this time: for which there were ſeverall reaſons given, but the beſt ſeemed to be, that theſe *Memorials* againſt our *Holy Faith* were ſent with an Order, that they ſhould firſt be regiſtred by *Xin*, for whoſe ſake they were preſented, who at the ſame time was put out of his Office. So that when the *Memorials* came, he had now no power nor authority to preferre them; and ſo they were not preſented at all; for if they had been preſented, whether the King had anſwered them or no, we ſhould have been ſure to have had notice of it. Thus the ſtorm ended, which ſeemed to threaten us with a greater danger; and the effect of it was turned upon *Xin*, although upon another occaſion: for it is moſt certain, that at the ſame time, when the Petitions againſt the *Law of Chriſt* were ſent from the *Southern* to the *Northern* Court, the King took away his Office of *Colao*, by reaſon the *Mandarines* of *Pekim* had petitioned againſt him; and although they had endeavoured his diſgrace for 16 months before, yet they could never bring it about till then. So that it ſeemeth, the Lord did reſerve the fall of this *Tyrant*, for that time wherein he might have done the greateſt miſchiefe, and would ſhew us, what truſt and confidence we ought to have in him upon the like occaſions.

Our *Doctours* being of the opinion, that the *Memorials*, neither were, nor would be preſented, the *Fathers* returned all to their *Ancient Reſidencies*; although they were obliged to uſe more caution, and to make fewer aſſemblies; and this the rather, becauſe they did not yet receive good news from *Nankim*, where there were new edicts publiſhed againſt the *Chriſtian Religion*: which news, although on the one ſide it occaſioned much grief to the *Fathers*, yet on the other ſide it gave them much comfort

ſort by the relation of the *Martyrdome* of a certain *Chriſtian*, called *Andrew*, concerning whoſe life and actions very much might be ſaid, and eſpecially of that courage and conſtancy which he ſhewed in all the torments they gave him: which is ſo much the more admirable in a *Chineſſe*; becauſe that Nation is by nature very cowardly and timorous: yet we have had certain experience, that even to this day the *Chriſtian Chineſſes*, in all occaſions of *Perſecutions* and *Troubles* that have happened to them, have ever continued firme in the *Faith*: (ſo that by the grace of God they have not been wanting to *Martyrdome*, but *Martyrdome* hath been wanting to them,) as was ſeen in thoſe of *Nankim*, and was proved in this good *Chriſtian Andrew*.

This *Andrew* was borne in the *Province* of *Kiamſi*, where after he had lived many yeares, he removed from thence into the *Province* of *Nankim*, where having had ſome information concerning our religion, he came to the *Fathers*; and after he had been well inſtructed by them in the principall points of our *Faith*, he received *Baptiſme* from them, together with the name of *Andrew*. Some few daies after his whole familie was *Baptized* by the hand of *Father Rocca*, who was *Superiour* there at that time. After his *Baptiſme*, *Andrew* became a pattern and example to the reſt of the *Chriſtians*, by endeavouring to communicate to others the good which he had received, and to draw others to *Chriſt*, which ſucceeded very happily, very many being *Baptized* by his perſwaſions. He had a great devotion to the *B. Virgin*, and was the moſt zealous man of a whole fraternitie, which before the *Perſecution* of *Nankim* was dedicated to her in our Church there: and after that, when the *Fathers* were baniſhed, he built an oratory in his owne houſe to the honour of that *Holy Mother*; whither he uſed to aſſemble the *Chriſtians*, and to exhort them to devotion and obſervance of our *Holy Law*. At the time the *Fathers* were impriſoned there, and the other *Chriſtians* were divided into five priſons, he without any fear of that danger to which he did expoſe himſelfe, tooke upon him to ſerve them, to viſit, comfort and aſſiſt them, eſpecially the *Fathers*, with many almes at his owne expence; not being content to performe theſe offices of *Charitie* in his owne perſon only, he imployed in them alſo a little boy that was his ſonne, whom he ſent to the *Fathers*, that they might make uſe of him to ſend him of errants, and other little occaſions. Likewiſe at our return thither, he lent us his houſe for our habitation when we went to viſit the *Chriſtians* of that place, and for an Infirmary, or Hoſpitall, when any were ſick, whom he ſerved and tooke care of with great charity and affection. Theſe and other good works did the Lord pay him by crowning him with *Martyrdeme*, and making him to ſuffer death for his ſake. The good old man patiently ſuffered the torments and *Baſtinadoes* abovementioned; and when as the laſt which he received, beſide that they were very cruell ones, were alſo laid on upon the wounds and ſtripes, but lately inflicted on him before other *Tribunalls*, it is no wonder, that an old man, who though he were ſtrong in courage, yet was but weake in body, ſhould render his life to the violence of thoſe torments; ſince the youngeſt of thoſe *Chriſtians*, and thoſe of the moſt robuſt complexion did hardly eſcape with life. Thus he dyed, leaving that *Church* much edified by his good example, and much afflicted

afflicted for the losse of him. For he was, as it were a *Father* to them all, and in the absence of the *Fathers*, a *Master*. He was buried decently in a particular Sepulchre by himselfe, to the end that one day he may have those honours, which are due to him, performed with greater solemnitie.

CHAP. 12.

How things began to be quiet and setled, and how the Fathers were sent for to Court by order of the Mandarines.

IN the mean time there came better news from *Nankim*, whither the *Fathers* had sent a man on purpose, with letters from themselvs, as also from our *Doctours*, to comfort and strengthen the *Christians* there in their afflictions and troubles; although the Lord had so filled their hearts with courage and contentment, that they had little need of any humane consolation. This man returned with a confirmation of the news, which was already spread abroad, assuring them that all things were quiet: the same also was written by the *Christians* in their letters. For the *Mandarines*, seeing that the plot did not take, and that the *Memorialls* were not presented at *Pekim*, and on the other side, that *Xin* was turned out of his Office, they presently changed their stile and opinion; they set the *Christians* at liberty, and also moderated the punishment that had been imposed upon them. Only there remained in prison three *Christians* of *Chincheo*, who expected every day to be sent into their owne *Province*, as it afterwards fell out. From *Pekim* also the *Father*, who lay hid there, wrote, that all the hopes of our enemies of *Nankim* were quite overthrown at that Court; and that the face of things was so changed, since the departure of *Xin*, that our friends did counsell him to treate with the Christian *Mandarines*, and such other of them, as (although they were Gentiles, yet) had a good affection for us, to finde out some way for him to go publickly abroad, and for us to be introduced thither againe.

By this time there had six or seven years passed, since the first *Persecution* of *Nankim*; and the *Tartars* made a cruell warre upon the *Chinesses*, and had already not only defeated severall of their armies, but also gained diverse places from them in the Province of *Leaotum*; neither did they well know which way to put a stop to the advance of their army. Nevertheless, the *Fathers* did endeavour to finde some way to manifest themselves to the Kingdome, and to appeare in publick, according to the tenour of what had been written them from *Pekim*: But because their banishment was decreed by the King, they found no small difficulty in the businesse. Notwithstanding, the *Christians*, and the *Doctours* that were our friends resolved to frame a *Memoriall*; taking the occasion from the warre with the *Tartars*, and the extremities to which the *Chinesses* were reduced, and to present it to the King; setting forth in the first place the misfortunes of the warre, the mortality and damages which they had received; the losse of their

their Townes and Cities, without having been able for the ſpace of ſo many years, after ſuch infinite expence of treaſure and loſſe of men, either to divert or ſtop the courſe of that calamitie. In the ſecond place they did remonſtrate the errour, which was committed in baniſhing the *Europæan Fathers*, who, beſide that they were vertuous, learned, and men capable of the management of great affaires, they were alſo very great *Mathematicians*, who without doubt had particular ſecrets, and extraordinary inventions, which might be made uſe of to their extraordinary advantage in that great ſtraite wherein the Kingdom was at preſent: and that if they were in the Court, as they had formerly been, that they would be able to reduce the affaires of ſtate into a better condition. Laſt of all they added, that it was probable, that they were not all yet departed, and that it was not poſſible, that ſo many men ſhould be able to paſſe through ſo great a Kingdom, through ſo many ſtraite and uncouth waies; That his Majeſty ſhould do well to give order for diligent ſearch to be made through the whole Kingdom, to ſee if any of them were ſtill to be found there, and to ſend for them to Court, that they might be ſerviceable to him in this preſent conjuncture of the warre.

The *Fathers* made great oppoſition againſt this particular means which was taken for their re-eſtabliſhment; by reaſon they were altogether ignorant in matters of warre and armes, and all things belonging to that profeſſion: and therefore they did not thinke it convenient, that they ſhould be petitioned for under that pretence. To this, as I underſtand, *Dr. Leo* who was one of the chiefe Actours in this Tragedie, preſently made anſwer, *Fathers*, let not this trouble you, for this pretence of arms ſhall ſtand us in no more ſtead, then the needle doth a Taylour, who when he hath drawne through the thred he ſoweth with, and the garment is finiſhed, preſently taketh the needle away; let your Reverences once get in by the Kings order, and the armes to fight with, ſhall be turned into pens to write. In concluſion, the *Memoriall* was drawne up very well, they having excellent skill to frame a petition after their manner; it was preſented in the *Chancery* of *Petitions*, and they tooke ſuch paines in ſolliciting their friends, that they got it paſſed, and preſented to the Kings hands, with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that immediately he made a favourable reference of it to the *Councell of warre*; who did not only favour the diſigne, but added alſo, that they did verily beleeve, that the *Fathers* by their skill in the *Mathematicks* would be able ſo to enchant the *Tartars*, that they ſhould not be able to manage their armes againſt them. They therefore immediately gave order, that they ſhould be ſought out with all poſſible diligence: But there was no need to take much pains to finde them out, for he that was to ſeeke them, knew well enough where to have them.

Father Rocca, our *Superiour*, who reſided at that time in the *Southern* parts, had preſently news of the Kings order; & that he was to ſend two *Fathers* to that Court. It is almoſt incredible what joy there was both among the *Fathers* & the reſt of the *Chriſtians*; they knowing, that this was the moſt certain way, for the *Fathers* to returne publickly into the Kingdom, & for the propagation of the Goſpel, with the ſame libertie they formerly enjoyed.

Father Nicolas Longobardus and *Father Emanuel Dias* were named for this

expedition; who assoone as they had fitted themselves for their journy, departed for *Pekim*; where they made their entrance publickly. And because some years had now passed, since beards of the *Europæan fashion* had been seen in that City, there was so great a concourse of people to see them, that they could hardly make their way through them. The first thing they did, was to present themselves to the *Tribunall of warre*, (the care of seeking them out having been recommended to the *Mandarines* of that *Tribunall*) who received them with all manner of courtesie and civility, and profered to take the care themselves of their lodging and accommodation, which the *Fathers* would by no means accept, excusing themselves, that they had not yet merit enough to accept of their offer: but gave them very great thanks, and promised to receive their kindnesse, when they should see a fit time for it. But the true reason was, partly that they might not be burthensome to them, and partly that they might remain the freer by having the lesse obligation to be employed in their affaires of warre; under which title they had been brought in thither. As for a House, it seemed good to the *Christians*, that they should returne to that, where they had formerly made their abode for so many years, and where they were yet well knowne and beloved of the neighbourhood: Besides that, by that means the world would more clearly understand, upon how little reason they were banished; and moreover, they should save building of a new Church, the old one having been bought on purpose by a *Christian*: only there was great need of repayring; for the buildings of *China*, consisting principally of wood, are not so strong and lasting as ours: But *Dr. Ignatius*, who resided at that time in the Court, tooke upon him to repaire all at his owne charges, and did accommodate them very excellently, especially the Church; and when every thing was ready, the Fathers went thither to dwell; where they do yet inhabit to this very day, medling only with such things as belong to their profession, without being ever spoken to concerning warre, *Tartars* or *Armes*.

The affaires of the Court being thus happily accomplished, and the *Fathers* dwelling freely and openly in their ancient House, they began to set on foote their former exercises. They did cultivate and perfect the knowledge of the *Christians*; they preached to the *Gentiles*; they received the visits, which the *Mandarines* and their friends did pay them, with the same familiaritie as formerly, and without any other cautions, but such as are at all times necessary in *China*. This securitie and libertie in the Court by publique approbation, was in a little while after communicated to the other Houses, where the rest of the *Fathers* did reside. So that by little and little, preaching and other exercises of religion were so happily encreased and enlarged, that in the year 1628. and 29. whilest we lived peaceably in the places of our abode, a doore was opened to the Gospel, and the way cleared to the conversion of the *Gentiles*, without finding any opposition, or resistance, to the designes which God had encouraged us to undertake; although it was alwaies necessary to make some *Magistrate* our friend in the place of our employment.

In the same measure that our libertie encreased, the Gospel was likewise divulged in severall parts; new Residencies were set up, with Houses and

and Churches belonging to them, and *Fathers* were sent to make their abode at them. Two, beside Oratories, were instituted in the Province of *Fokien*, both of them very numerous in *Christians*. In the Province of *Xansi*, there was one set up, and in that of *Xunsi*, another, as also another in the *Province* of *Honan*, all which do flourish at this day in a copious *Christianitie*. At my departure thence, there was another beginning, which is now finished, having a Church and some store of *Christians*, and they did resolve to send some *Fathers* to reside there. But because hereafter there will be an account given of them all in particular, I will stay no longer upon this subject.

The *Fathers* returned to their ancient Houses, (which were five in all before the persecution) after they had repaired and put them in some handsome condition. That of *Pekim*, (with the accommodation of the House and Church, as is above-said,) had three *Fathers*, & one Lay-Brother, who laboured very successefully in encreasing the number of *Christians*. That of *Hamcheu* had a new House and Church, and more capacious than the former; which was indeed very necessary, by reason of the great number of *Christians*, both Old and new ones, of which there are some made every day. That of *Kiamsi* had likwise a new Church and House scituated in the most publique Street of that City. That of *Canton* was let alone, not only because (before) it could not be continued as the rest were; but also out of consideration that it was better to leave a place so subject to stormes and troubles, and in stead thereof to take another, where we might find more profit and security. Nevertheless, the *Christians* there are very carefully visited every year,

At the House of *Nankim* we had enough to do; for the *Christians* of that Church could not endure, that they having been the first in persecutions and troubles, and the most exercised in them, should be the last in spirituall favours; and not only the last; but even when other Houses were well provided with *Fathers*, their Church only should want them. The *Fathers* also did much desire a Residency there, & did therefore very frequently visit them. But to set up a publique and open House, was very difficult, by reason of the persecutions that had happened there. But at length, all difficulties were overcome; & a Residencie was instituted there, although it were late first; which, next under God, we owe to *Dr. Paul*, who that he might alwayes do good, did this even after his death, in this maner.

The *Fathers* had no other hope of this businesse, but the opportunity of some *Christian Mandarine* or friend, who should come to governe that City; that under his protection they might be introduced with greater facility and security. It happened about that time, that a Disciple of *Doctour Pauls* was sent thither to be *President of the Councell of Warre*; and as the *Doctour* was very vigilant in this matter, he presently helped the Fathers to that which they desired; that *Mandarine* being of great authority, and being his Disciple, he would do whatsoever he should require of him. This overture pleased the *Fathers* very well: and because they would send thither an experienced person, the place being of such great danger and such great importance, they did for some time retard the execution of it, because they were to take a Father away from some other Place, which

ſo was to remaine unprovided. In the meane while *Doctour Paul* fell ſick, who was at that time actually *Colao* in the Court; yet did not his ſickneſſe hinder him from writing and ſending a letter to the *Mandarine* in favour of us. But his ſickneſſe increaſing, by that time the letter arried at *Nankim*, the good *Doctour Paul* was gone to a better life. But the *Mandarine* received the letter,(which the *Father* gave him with ſome heſitation) not as from a dead friend, but from a living Maſter : he received alſo the Father with all demonſtrations of courteſie and good will. By his favour and order a Houſe was taken ; and the other *Mandarines* ſeeing how he uſed the Father, to pleaſe him (for all deſire to ſecond the great ones) they did likewiſe ſhew him many favours, not only with their authority and frequent viſits, but alſo by giving him money toward the buying of the Houſes. In this manner was that Church well provided for, and the *Chriſtians* comforted, who have been ſince very much encreaſed.

About that time, which was in the year 1632 the affaires of that Church did proceed in a much different manner, from what they had done formerly; ſo that it ſeemed that thoſe ſtormes had only raiſed the little barque of that Church to a greater height; not only in the number of the *Baptized*, which without compariſon every year encreaſed, but alſo the peace and quiet they enjoyed, and the liberty they had to preach: ſo that there was a generall knowledge of our *Holy beliefe* diſperſed over the whole Kingdome; inſomuch that there is hardly a place in it, whither, either by books written upon that ſubject, or by the acquaintance of *Chriſtians*, or by the report of *Gentiles* themſelves, it is not arrived; and this not only in the innermoſt parts of the Kingdome; where for the moſt part the *Fathers* are employed, but alſo in the skirts and extremities thereof. I will bring ſome examples, which will clearly demonſtrate it.

There came ſometimes to the City of *Macao* (which is inhabited by *Portugheſes*, and is ſcituated on the Confines of *China*) ſome *Chriſtian Mandarines* about ſtate affaires; who have not onely publickly declared themſelves to be *Chriſtians*, but have alſo made it appear that they were well inſtructed in the principles of our faith; and have carried themſelves with ſo much edification; and ſanctity of life in the exerciſe of all *Chriſtian vertues*, that they have much edified that people, and may be examples to *Chriſtians* of much greater antiquity.

In the year 1631 the *Portugheſſe* ſhips ſetting ſaile from *Macao* toward *Giappon* (as uſually they do every year) about the height of *Fokien* a Province of *China*, one of the ſhips was caſt away; and all the men drowned, except onely 12 perſons, who ſaved themſelves in the long boate almoſt by miracle, by reaſon it happened in the night, and the wind blew very ſtrong, and the ſeas ran exceeding high : yet at length with much ado; although they had neither needle nor compaſſe, they came a ſhore, and landed in the ſaid Province of *Fokien*. Preſently the people flocked about the poor ſhipwrackt men who had more need of food and clothing than of being examined who they were; but becauſe the *Hollanders* (of whom the *Chineſſes* have a very ill conceit) did uſe about that time to exerciſe much piracy and robbery upon thoſe coaſts, they put them in priſon, where by reaſon they were not only ſtrangers, but were alſo accounted enemies,

they

they endured extraordinary want & miſery. Many people went to ſee them out of curioſity, becauſe they were ſtrangers, who as they are ſeldome admitted into that Country, are thought a rare ſpectacle. Among the reſt, there were ſome *Chriſtians* (which is that I would ſhew) who were led to ſee them out of the ſame curioſity that others had: and taking notice that they carried beads, and croſſes about them, and that they uſed to ſay over their beads, they judged them to be of the ſame profeſſion as themſelves were: therefore they made diligent enquirie about it; and being aſſured that they were *Chriſtians*, although they were ſtrictly forbid to ſhew them any kindneſſe, yet Charitie, which is alwayes ingenious, found a way for them to help them, and to provide them with what they were able. To cloath them they uſed this pious ſhift: they would go into the priſon (for as I have fomerly ſaid, he that viſiteth a priſoner muſt of neceſſity go into the priſon) having a double ſuit of cloathes one over the other: and as ſoon as they were got in, they would very dexterouſly ſlip off their under garments, and give them to thoſe poor men, and go out again onely with their own cloathes, without any diſcovery of ſo ſeaſonable a charity, for the reliefe of thoſe unfortunate wretches.

Whilſt I lived in the Province of *Kiamſi* at *Nancham*, the capital City thereof; where we have a Church and Houſe, there came thither a *Chriſtian* of another City, on purpoſe to conferre with me concerning his conſciennce, and other ſpirituall matters: and becauſe the place where he lived was far diſtant from us, and he could not often make that journey; his cuſtome was to make a pretty long ſtay when he did come, and then, after his generall confeſſion and pennance was ended, to returne home again. One time at his departure I deſired him to uſe his beſt endeavours to perſwade his kindred, friends, neighbours and other perſons, to embrace our *Holy Faith*, and that if he found any diſpoſition or inclination in them to it, he ſhould preſently give me notice of it. He did ſo, and about a month after, he ſent me an invitation to come thither, for that there was an opportunity of caſting my nets: I went thither, and becauſe he had not a Houſe bigge enough to receive the company that would come to treate with me, I did accommodate my ſelf in one of thoſe Houſes, which the *Chineſſes* call *Zutham*, and do belong to a whole Family in common, where at ſet times of the yeare the whole Family do aſſemble themſelves to treate of the affaires of that Family, and of the behaviour and manner of living of ſome of that Kindred; and there they reprove, chaſtiſe, give orders, &c. theſe Houſes for the moſt part ſtand empty, only there is ſome one or other, who keepeth and taketh care of them. Neere unto that dwelt a *Mandarine*; who having heard of my arrivall, and that I was a ſtranger, drawn as I beleeve by his curioſity, came preſently to viſit me. But as we do not uſe in theſe viſits to let ſlip any opportunity of advancing the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, I entred into diſcourſe with him concerning that matter. He asked me thereupon many extravagant queſtions; and not being, as it ſeemed, much pleaſed with my anſwers, he took his leave of me with a great deale of civility; and, when he had done, he went and accuſed me to the ſecond *Governour* of the City; telling him, that there dwelt a ſtranger; that the times were dangerous; and more-

over,

over, that I taught a new law, which was contrary to theirs, and prejudicial to the State; that therefore it did behoove his Lordship to use all care and diligence to prevent the mischiefe that might ensue upon it. Lesse than this would have been sufficient to have caused me to be apprehended, if the *Mandarine* had not been a cautious and discreet person. Nevertheless, he sent some of his Officers for me: there came into the House where I was about thirty or fourty men, some of them being sent, and others only out of curiosity to see me; as also the *Tisam* of that street, (who is obliged to give account of what ever passeth there) and brought an order for me to appear before the *Governour*. Just in that instant in came the *Christian* who had sent for me, who was a *Litterato*, and well esteemed in that City; and taking me by the hand, would needs go along to give an account of me to the *Governour*; where he found also the *Mandarine* that had accused me.

The *Christian* told the *Mandarine*, that I lived in the *Metropolis* of the *Province*, and that I had a friendship with the *Vice-roy* and other *Mandarines* of Quality (which was very true:) and that for the *Law* which I taught, it was no secret, but that I did preach it openly at the Court; and that my companions did the same every where publickly; as the *Mandarines* of the *Metropolis* knew very well. The *Governour* having heard these words, from a person of that merit, would make no further enquirie into the cause, but remitted it to the first *Governour*, whom we found on his *Tribunall*. The *Tisam* began to give him an account of the businesse, but he being not well instructed in it, could not make him understand it. Then the *Christian* began to speak, and to give an account of what had happened, in the presence of almost an infinite multitude of people; of which number there being two, who, hearing him talk of the *Law of God*, signed themselves with the *Signe* of the *Crosse* in the sight of a young man who stood near them: The young man asked them, If they were *Christians*: They answered, No, but that they had a friend who was a *Christian*, and that he had taught them to make the signe of the Crosse, and to rehearse several prayers. The *Governour*, assoon as he heard of *Thien Chu Kiao*, that is, *The Law of the Lord* of heaven; he said: this law hath many followers in my Country, and is a very good *Law*: what would the Father have else? The *Christian* answered: nothing, *my Lord*, but only to give an account of himself in answer to what he is accused of by *Hioquon* (for that was the name of the *Mandarine* that had complained of me) neere unto whom he dwelleth. Then the *Governour* replyed, Tell the *Father* he liveth in no good neighbour-hood; and wish him to find a better. The *Christian* answered, since your *Lordship* would have him change his habitation, be pleased to command he should have a House allowed him during the short time he is to make his abode in this City. The advice pleased him, and presently he gave order, there should be some Chambers provided for me in a certain *Palace*, and in them I lived during the whole time that I spent there: so that by the occasion of the others turning me out of the House, I came to get one that was farre better.

As a *Portugheſe Carrack* was on her way from *Macao* toward *Manila*, she strook unfortunately upon the sands of *Puloſiſi*, and was cast away; there being hardly fourty persons saved in the long boate; who steering as well

well as they could towards the next land, after ſome daies, arrived at the Iſland of *Hainan*, which is but a little way diſtant from the Weſterne part of the *Province* of *Canton*, and from *Macao* two daies ſaile with a good winde. Aſſoon as they landed, they were preſenly apprehended according to the cuſtome of that Iſland, with a noiſe and ſtir which boded no good to thoſe poor ſhipwrackt men. They found ſome *Chriſtians* in that Iſland, who were very helpfull to them, and among the reſt there was a *Mandarine* called *Ignatius*, who had been a long time a *Chriſtian*, as alſo his whole Family, a very good and devout perſon, as I had formerly known him to be at *Nankim*. It pleaſed God for the comfort and ſolace of thoſe poor *Portugheſes*, that he ſhould govern the Iſland at that time. Aſſoon as he had underſtood what had happened to thoſe priſoners, fearing what might fall out, he commanded the cauſe to be brought unto his *Tribunall*. When therefore the poor priſoners were brougbt into his preſence, and after that he underſtood they were *Chriſtians*, he not only commiſerated their condition, but preſently commanded they ſhould be ſet at liberty, and kept them for ſome time in his Palace. It is hard to expreſſe the *Charity* and *Love*, with which he entertained them, endeavouring to refreſh and comfort them after the labours and dangers they had paſſed, converſing with them ſo familiarly and ſo cordially, and giving them ſuch an example in his own perſon of all *Chriſtian vertues*, that the *Portugheſſes* did afterwards very highly commend him, both in *Macao* and many other places, and not only his own carriage and behaviour, but alſo that of his houſhold; but above all, they did admire the care and diligence with which he gave them notice both of Faſts and Holy-dayes, to the end they might obſerve them: ſo that while they ſtayed there, he ſerved them alſo in ſtead of a Pariſh Prieſt.

On the day of *S. Agnes*, which was that whereon his wife was *Baptized*, and called by the ſame name, he made a very great *Feaſt*: firſt a Spirituall one in his Chappel, where they all met to do their devotions, and recommend themſelvs unto *God*; and after that, he gave them a Sumptuous and Splendid banquet. After he had entertained them a good while, and that they had recovered their health and ſtrength againe, he lent them a Barque and Marriners to carry them to *Macao*. I could bring many other examples, which I omit for brevities ſake, ſeeing theſe are ſufficient to prove what I ſaid before; That the *Chriſtian Religion*, one way or other, is diſperſed over the whole Kingdome of *China*.

CHAP. 13.

The life and death of Doctour Leo: and the Concluſion of this Hiſtory.

THe *Chineſſe Chriſtianity* hath ſo great an obligation to the ſingular pietie, and charitable aſſiſtance afforded them upon all occaſions by *Doctour*

Doctour Leo, that I cannot finiſh this relation without giving a briefe *Eſſay* of his life and death, which may ſerve alſo for a teſtimony of the great zeale of thoſe new *Chriſtians*; although I ſhall forbeare to mention many things concerning his ſanctitie; as alſo ſeverall graces and gifts conferred upon him by Almighty God, referring the *Reader* to the yearly letters, where they are more particularly ſet downe.

Dr. Leo was borne in the City of *Hamcheu* in the Province of *Chekiam*, and having happily finiſhed the courſe of his ſtudies, he removed to the Court of *Pekim*, where he obtained the degree of Doctour, and executed the firſt employment, which was conferred upon him after his degree. There he ſaw and converſed with Father *Matthæus Riccius*, as did alſo the greateſt part of the chiefe Officers and *Letterati*; moved by a curioſitie of ſeeing men of *Europe*. This *Leo*, beſides that he was of a quick and vivacious wit, had a moſt eager and intenſe deſire of knowledge; by which means he did the more engage himſelfe to an inward friendſhip and converſation with the *Father*, being allured thereunto by the ſolidity and novelty of our *Sciences*; and particularly by the delight he tooke in ſome maps and other curioſities; ſo that he could have been willing to have lived alwaies in his company. In the meane while, together with humane *Sciences*, the *Father* did inſtruct him in the heavenly wiſdome of the *Law of God*; and he was growne ſo skilfull and well verſed in it, that he was able to help the *Father* in the correction and augmentation of a *Catechiſme*, which he had made ſome years before, and was then about to re-print it. He did therein much admire the great conformitie of our *Myſteries*, with the principalls of reaſon, the concordance, order, and admirable conſequence of the points of our *Faith*: and although he did not at that time give an entire credence to them, nevertheleſſe he was much delighted to ſee every thing therein ſo well ordered and diſpoſed; being wont often to ſay, That if theſe things were not true, they were wiſely invented, and very conformable to the light of nature. He continued the ſame affection toward the *Father* for ſome years; wherein he much aſſiſted, both with his counſell and authority, the foundation of that Houſe; and indeed he was the firſt that did encourage the *Father* to the enterpriſe; and furniſhed him with mony to buy the ground, and to build the Church.

All theſe good works, accompanied with the *faſtings* and *Penance* which he performed, while he was yet a *Gentile*, were as ſo many diſpoſitions, to fit and prepare him for the reception of that divine light, which the Lord was pleaſed to communicate unto him. He was then ſatisfied in the truth of our *Holy faith*, and did much deſire to be baptized; which notwithſtanding *Father Riccius* would not conſent unto, by reaſon of a certain impediment which he had at that time; but being afterwards ſick and in great danger of death, the *Father* was conſtrained to *Baptize* him. And immediatly after, the *Lord* was pleaſed, by means and vertue of that *Sacrament* and the other of *Extreame Unction*, to deliver him from that death, which he expected every hour; as he himſelfe confeſſed during his whole life, and alwaies gave particular thanks to God for it.

Not long after, he returned home to his owne Houſe; where, having buſied himſelfe one evening in breaking and burning all the *Idols* he could finde,

finde, *Dr. Michael* his ancient friend, (though yet a *Gentile* and very zealous in the worſhip of *Idols*, and obſervant in their ſuperſtition) came in to viſit him. He was much aſtoniſhed at the ſight, and could not forbeare to reprove him for it: but by the others anſwer, he received ſo much ſatisfaction, that he had an earneſt deſire to heare and underſtand better the *Law of Chriſt*, which he afterwards received; & the ſame *Dr. Leo* aſſiſted him as *God-father* at his *Baptiſme*; for about that time there came to live in *Leo's* Houſe, the *Fathers*, *Lazarus*, *Catanæus*, and *Nicolas Trigaultius*, who did often diſcourſe there, with *Dr. Michael*; he carried them to a Country houſe of his, (whither he went often to dwell,) that he might with more freedom and leiſure diſcourſe with them concerning the *Law of God*: he doing this often, was at length converted and *Baptized*; wherein *Dr. Leo* had the greateſt ſhare and merit; conferring a moſt important benefit upon this Church, by the converſion of a perſon of that *Quality*, who for many years together, in the heate and trouble of the greateſt perſecutions, did ever receive, protect, and favour us above meaſure.

From that day forward theſe two *Doctours*, *Michael* and *Leo* were the heads and pillars of our *Holy faith* in thoſe Kingdoms: for, in the greateſt fury of that perſecution, wherein the *Fathers* were baniſhed the Kingdom, eight of them concealed themſelves in that City; not only maintaining what they had already gained, but alſo encreaſing it ſo much, that whereas about 8 or 10 years before, there were but three Churches in all *China*, we have at this day many in eight Provinces, as alſo twelve Houſes, the number of the *faithfull* being very much encreaſed every where.

Dr. Leo made continuall progreſſe in the *Chriſtian religion*, and ſhewed in act, upon all occaſions, what he had before embraced and reſolved in his minde. When he went to take poſſeſſion of the firſt office, which was given him after he was a *Chriſtian*, he was advertiſed by the Miniſters and Officers, that, according to the cuſtome, he ſhould go and worſhip, and take his oath before the *Idols*, which in great number were placed in a certain Hall of that *Palace*, where he was to lodge. The *Doctour* went, and being come to the roome where the *Idols* were, the *Ceremonie* he performed was, to cauſe them to be all overturned and throwne to the ground, and then to be broken in pieces: ſo that the Sergeants themſelves, who were conſtrained to execute this Commandement, which ſeemed to them a very great impiety, ſaid among themſelves, *Sure this new Lord of ours is not very wellin his wits.* So great was the horrour and hatred which he had conceived againſt the devill. He was in this particular very ſevere and terrible all the time of his life; neither did he account them men, that were deceived in that point, & had ſo little ſenſe, as to believe *Idols* to be gods; and thoſe, who had any occaſion to heare the *Law of God*, or to read the books which treated of it, and did not judge it to be true, to want braines, and to be voyd of underſtanding. He perſwaded himſelfe, that all they who could read, and took a delight in the reading of books, that it was not poſſible, but that they ſhould have a great paſſion for the Learning and Sciences of *Europe*; and that by means of them, they muſt needs arrive at the knowledge of the true God, and receive his *Holy law*. Therefore his greateſt care always was to perſwade the *Fathers* to apply themſelves to the

tranſlating the books of *Europe*; and he himſelfe did help them in it all he could, which was not a little.

Hence it was, that ever ſince he knew the *Fathers*, which was about the ſpace of thirty years, he almoſt alwaies buſied himſelfe in this exerciſe; which he followed with ſo much ſtudy and application, that even in the Country, at recreations, viſits and banquets, he never went without a book in his ſleeve, or in the chaire, wherein he was carried on mens ſhoulders; and when he was alone, he did either read or write; although it was more troubleſome to him, than it would have been to another of leſſe ingenuity and capacity, by reaſon of his want of ſight in one eye, which he had almoſt loſt; and the little ſight he had in the other which was left: ſo that in writing or reading he was faine almoſt to touch the paper with his eye. And truly he made ſuch progreſſe in our *Sciences*, that he could have diſcourſed upon any ſubject better than many in *Europe*, that eſteeme themſelves learned men.

He perfectly underſtood the firſt ſix books of Euclid; which are now tranſlated into the *Chineſſe* tongue; he had learned all the kinds of our *Arithmetick*, with many particular rules and ſubtleties which are taught in that Art; of which ſubject he compoſed ſeaven *Tomes*; he was very well acquainted with all that belongeth to the *Spheare*, and ſuch like *curioſities*. But what is moſt of all, he underſtood very well, and helped to tranſlate the books of *Ariſtotle de Cælo*; together with the queſtions, which are handled upon them by the Schoole of *Conimbra*; ſo that he had perfectly penetrated into that matter: and finally, he learnt a great part of our *Logick*, concerning which he left 20 *Tomes* in the *Chineſſe* language to be printed; beſides, he diſcourſed ſo pertinently of all theſe and other matters, with ſo much eaſe and delight, that it was not ſo facile for others, who were well verſed in them, to follow him. He never made account of thoſe curious commodities, which came from *Europe*, and which were ſo much eſteemed by others; all his delight and content was, to ſee ſome new and curious book, that was brought out of *Europe*: Then would he ſigh to ſee himſelfe old and alone, not finding in other *Chriſtians* the zeale, which he had of a thing ſo important, to the converſion of that Kingdom, as was the helping us in the tranſlation of ſuch books. With the *Fathers* he never diſcourſed of any thing, but either of *God*, or of our *Sciences*. It was a known thing among us, that when he ſaw us, (which he did many times a week,) the firſt thing he would ask, was, What book it was we were about tranſlating; and if he knew the ſubject, how much we had already tranſlated? And I can ſpeak it with truth, that of fifty works which the *Fathers* have tranſlated into the *Chineſſe* tongue, both of *Divinitie* & other *Sciences*, among which there are ſome which do conſiſt of many *Tomes*, there is hardly one which hath not paſſed through his hands, he either correcting it himſelfe, or helping us to do it, or reviſing and fitting it for a new impreſſion; or elſe rendring it of more Authority, with the addition of prologues and other compoſitions of his owne. He had an unſpeakable pleaſure in thoſe works; neither could he have a greater Preſent ſent him, than one of our books newly printed in the *Chineſſe* language.

From hence there grew in him a great and inſatiable deſire, wherein he

he ſeemed to conſume himſelfe; which was to have many *Fathers* come into *China*; and it was ſo vehement in him, that it made him fall into complaints againſt our *Superiours*, ſaying, They did not underſtand, becauſe they could not ſee with their eyes the importance of that buſineſſe, & that therefore they did not ſupply that want ſo much as was neceſſary. One day falling into a great heat upon this ſubject, the *Father* with whom he diſcourſed, mildely replied, Sir, we thank you for your zeale, and do acknowledge the favour you ſhew us, in complaining on this manner; but our *Superiours* have many places to ſuccour and ſupply, and it is not poſſible for them to do it to the ſatisfaction of all. To which he replied very gracefully, Your Reverence doth reprove me for daring to murmure againſt our *Fathers* and *Superiours*; but it is not ſo; but only I ſay, That I ſhould be very glad to have the opportunity to ſpeak in perſon with our *Reverend Father Generall* (in theſe very tearmes he ſpake it in the *Chineſſe* tongue, and when ever he mentioned the *Superiours* of the Company, he alwaies called them *Our Fathers and Superiours*) becauſe I would very earneſtly deſire of him, that he would be pleaſed ſeaſonably to ſupply our Kingdome of *China* with ſtore of *Fathers*, by reaſon the letters and language are ſo difficult to be learnt: for ere long your *Reverences* will be ſo old and worne out, that you will not be able to teach thoſe, who are new comers. Thus he ſpake, and this was his opinion concerning it. And a good Teſtimony thereof will appeare in a letter which he wrote in anſwer to one, which Father *Mugnez Maſcaregnas* the *Aſſiſtant* of *Portugall* had ſent him: wherein he offered to ſend him whatſoever curioſitie or raritie he deſired out of *Europe*: to which point his anſwer was, that he neither wiſhed, nor deſired any thing, but only that he would earneſtly endeavour to ſend more of the Societie into *China*.

In proportion to the love he had for the *Fathers*, his zeale and care for their ſtudies and health did encreaſe; as alſo that they ſhould be well accommodated, and that they ſhould know how to converſe with thoſe of the Country, in ſuch Termes, Ceremonies, and Compliments, as were moſt eſteemed among them: admoniſhing, and inſtructing us with great confidence upon all occaſions, when ever he ſaw us miſtaken in the *Stile* of that Country. He had ſo tender a kindeneſſe for us, that many times with his owne hands he would open our gowns before to ſee whether we were ſufficiently provided with cloaths to defend us from the cold. When any of us was ſick, he cauſed the medicines, to be boyled and prepared at his owne Houſe, ſaying, That either through the ignorance, or unskilfulneſſe of our ſervants they might loſe their force, and ſo the ſick perſon would receive no help by them. At the firſt ſight, after a little diſcourſe, he could very well judge of the talents and parts of every one of us, and had a great facilitie in gaining our affections. He had a great eſteeme and affection for us all in generall, but much more for thoſe who were newly come, and could not yet ſpeak the language; of whom he had alwaies a very great care, much compaſſionating the labour and paines they were to take in the ſtudy of that language, and the letters belonging to it; and to encourage them, would much rejoyce at every word, which he heard them bring out, when they began to ſpeak it. He gave them very particu-

lar instructions concerning the manner and method they were to study it by. He gave them the names of the books to which they were most to apply themselves; and many times he sent them to them, written in his owne hand, concerning the poynts and strokes, of which in *China* there is a particular *Science*. It was an incredible consolation, and truely did cause no lesse then our admiration, to heare the two *Doctours*, *Leo* and *Michael* together, when they came both at once, (as they did often,) to our House; for they scarce spoke of any thing else but of the way how to propagate the Gospel, and how to protect, defend and authorize the preachers thereof throughout the whole Kingdom; consulting with themselves to which of their friends they should recommend them; what books they would advise them to write; to which Province it were best to go first; and which *Father* were fittest to be required of the *Superiour* for such a part. In the end, all their consultations concluded in sighs, saying: We are old men, to morrow we shall die; whom shall wee leave in our stead to carry on, that which we have seen begun in our daies? Sometimes transported by their affections, they did imagine themselves to be then at the Court, informing the King himselfe by their *Memoriall* of the sanctity and purity of our *Christian Faith*; and having obtained leave and authority of him to set up publick Churches, they did already in their imagination make choice of the ground and scituation, and design the form of the buildings; otherwhile they fancied themselves to be accused for this cause, to be laid in prison, and after that to be beheaded; and all with so much courage and cheerfulnesse, as did well shew the esteem they made of the honour of *Martyrdom*; and the ardent desires they had to lose their lives for the interest of Gods cause.

Neither did he stop at discourses and desires; for I can justly affirme, That of all the Houses and Churches our Societie hath in *China*, there is not one of them, which *Dr. Leo* hath not helped both to build and to preserve; giving towards some of them, although he was not rich, a considerable summe of money.

But that zealous love of *Leo* was most remarkable, in that occasion of recalling the *Fathers* to the Court and City of *Pekim*, where they formerly resided. He contrived all possible means to effect it, and made use of all opportunities: and by reason that *China* was then infested by the *Tartars*, and the Court of *Pekim* in danger, he tooke advantage by that occasion to remonstrate to the King, that besides our learning and skill, which might be of great use to him, in this conjuncture of time, we had also great power and interest with the inhabitants of *Macao*, from whom we could easily obtaine a considerable succour of men and armes to his assistance; and the better to perswade the King and his counsell to it, he used so much *Rhetorick*, and produced so many, and such apt and proper examples out of their books and ancient Chronicles, wherein he was excellently well versed, that I doubt not, but the Reader would receive much delight, if I should give him a little tast of that excellent memoriall of his, did not that Brevitie, which I have tied my self to in this relation, forbid it. In conclusion, he did, and said so much, that he obtained his desire; wherein he received no lesse satisfaction than we have, and ever shal have obligation to

him

him for it. Nevertheleſſe, he loſt the great office he had, only upon this account, through the malice of his enemies; who accuſed him to the King; though they had nothing to lay to his charge, but the neare friendſhip he had had with *Father Matthæus Riccius*; and that he did beleeve and profeſſe a certain Law, which that Father taught, and which was different from the Law of that Kingdome.

But it pleaſed the Lord to recompenſe him abundantly for what he then loſt; reſtoring him 4 or 5 years after to the ſame place with much more honour and Fame throughout the whole Kingdom, by means of *Dr. Paul.* who being alſo a *Chriſtian*, and of ſo much courage & underſtanding, as to be able to aſſiſt and favour our affairs, brought it about upon occaſion of the reformation of the *Kalender*. He accepted of the employment, the better to enable him, together with *Doctour Paul*, to promote the intereſt of the Goſpel; and ſo he began his journey toward the Court: but, beſide the infirmities of his old age, the length of the voyage, and the exceſſive cold of the winter, did ſo weaken him, that, not many moneths after his arrivall, he ended his life on the day of *All-Saints*, which was the very day, whereon foure years before the firſt *Maſſe* was ſaid in that Houſe, which he built on purpoſe to beſtow upon the *Society*; where at this day is one of the two Reſidencies, which we have in the City of *Hamcheu*.

I will not ſtand to rehearſe the Piety, compunction, and reſentment, with which he did ſeverall times confeſſe himſelf during his ſickneſſe; nor the conſolation with which he received the holy *Sacraments* of the *Communion* and *extreame unction*, and with what devotion he hearkned to the diſcourſes and exhortations, which were made to him (at that time by three of the Fathers, who were preſent) at his death, (a reward which certainly the Lord was pleaſed to beſtow upon that love and affection, with which he had alwayes helped and favoured us, from the firſt time he knew us,) I forbear, I ſay, to mention them, by reaſon any one may imagine them in ſo learned a man and perfect a *Chriſtian*. I will only take notice briefly of what he ſaid at that time to *Doctour Paul*; whom he tooke by the hand, juſt as he was about to depart, & after he had given him thanks for the favours he had received of him upon many occaſions, and particularly in that laſt, he ſaid to him with teares in his eyes. *Sir, I dye much comforted to ſee with my eyes how well our* Fathers *are re-eſtabliſhed, and protected by your zeale. I will not recommend them to you, becauſe I know the place they hold in your heart. My ſinnes have made me unworthy to have any ſhare in this work, to which you have done me the favour to call me for your companion. But if after this work is ended you would be pleaſed to make uſe of my name to any thing, which might reſult to the glory of God, and the propagation of his moſt* Holy Law, *you would do me a high favour; and ſo, Sir, I leave upon your Shoulders the Chriſtianitie of* China. With theſe words, which ſhewed ſufficiently the eſteem he had of the Goſpel, and of the preachers thereof, *Doctour Leo* ended piouſly and holily that life, a good part whereof he had ſpent in the aſſiſtance of this new Church. He dyed on the firſt of November 1630 although his memory will alwayes live, in the breaſts of the Labourers of our Society; and we hope, that his example will be preſerved in other generous mindes of the *Chineſſe Nobilitie*.

To

To this ſtate and condition is the Church of *China* arrived, after the continuall labour and paines of the *Fathers*, during fifty eight years; and truly ſo happy and proſperous a ſucceſſe could never have been expected from ſuch difficult beginnings, and ſuch weak meanes. Nevertheleſſe, from the contexture of this Narration, it may well be perceived, what paines, trouble, caution, patience and longanimity have alwayes accompanied this enterpriſe, and alſo upheld it in the greateſt perſecutions. The zeale and heate of thoſe perſons, who would convert the world perfectly on a ſudden, is much to be commended; and we do eſteeme, and reverence it in all; nevertheleſſe, in new *Miſſions*, and particularly in ſuch, which are not ſuſceptible of this fire, which flameth out ſo ſuddenly, but do require to be diſpoſed to it by longer time, we do endeavour to retain them within the limits of prudence, more ſafe, and the bounds of patience, more profitable, for that which is pretended to, by our Society, when ever we meet with any of ſuch a Spirit among us; and if that will not ſerve, we ſend them to the pulpets and auditories of *Europe*, where that fire may ſhine out without any danger of burning. And this is obſerved by us in order to the *Gentiles*.

As for the new *Chriſtians*, I doubt not at all, but that it is a holy and deſireable thing, preſently to faſhion and accommodate them to the cõmon way of the univerſall Church, to her lawes, decrees, ſtatutes, &c. Nevertheleſſe, we muſt look how farre that is poſſible; and if poſſible, whether it be convenient; and whether it would not be more for the deſtruction then edification of ſuch tender plants. Our Saviour Chriſt and the Apoſtles have left us this doctrine ſo cleer, that there doth not ſeem any place to be left for errour. St. *Ambroſe* ſaith, It is a property of falſe Apoſtles to teach every thing to every one without difference of perſons; the which difference was alwayes obſerved by our Saviour in his holy doctrine, *Aliter enim populis, aliter loquebatur diſcipulis*. St. *Paul* the preacher of the *Gentiles*, and Maſter of preachers, wrote to the *Corinthians*, *Lac vobis potum dedi*: (it is wel to be ſeen, (ſaith St *Gregory*) that he brought them up and inſtructed them as Children: they were newly begotten unto the Goſpel, (ſaith St, *Ambroſe*) *Ideo Apoſtolus, vir divinus (& medicus ſpiritualis vnicuique ſecundum vires illius, doctrinam tradebat.*) And to the *Galatians* he ſaith; *Scitis, quia per infirmitatem carnis evangelizavi vobis. Wherefore accommodating himſelfe to the weakneſſe of the fleſh, the Apoſtle did preach no higher things to them:* ſaith St. *Hierome*, *Ut infirmos Galatas lucrifaceret. Of this opinion alſo is* Toſtatus *cap. 7. queſt. 9. upon St.* Mat.

The ſame St. *Paul*, when he would lay the foundation of *Chriſtianitie* at *Athens*, began with that Inſcription, *Ignoto deo*, or (as St *Hierom* will have it) *Dijs Aſiæ, Europæ & Lybiæ, dijs ignotis & peregrinis*: And without ever reproving thoſe words; or condemning the ſuperſtition, (although it was bad enough) judging it more convenient at the firſt, he made uſe of this *darkneſſe* to communicate light to them by it. The Apoſtles in the firſt councell treated only of the facilitating of the converſion of the *Gentiles*. *Viſum eſt ſpiritui ſancto & nobis nihil ultra imponere vobis oneris, quám hæc neceſſaria: ut abſtineatis vos ab immolatis ſimulachrorum, & ſuffocato, & ſanguine.* So that in theſe three things, they did include the whole obligation

tion of the *Jus positivum*, to which those new *Christians* were obliged; and (what is more) these were (all three) *Jewish Ceremonies*; which if they should be observed at this day, would give much scandal. Nevertheless, to facilitate the conversion of the *Gentiles*, and to avoyd giving *Scandal* to the *Jewes*, they were, at that time, judged necessary. The same thing happened about circumcision, the which S. *Paul* not only permitted, but even exercised himselfe on the person of his disciple *Timothy*; condescending to the weaknesse and ignorance of those first *Christians*.

Of this opinion was *Panormitanus* (*cap. licet Græcos, de Baptismo & ejus effect :*) where he saith, *Potest & debet venientes noviter ad fidem tolerare in moribus & ritibus eorum antiquis*: For otherwise, (as *Cusanus* saith) there would rather be a perturbation than an edification. *Oportet infirmitati hominum plerumque condescendere nisi vergat contra æternam salutem.* (which is very manifest, every man being chiefly concerned to take care of his own eternall Salvation, *ne cum alijs prædicaverit, ipse reprobus efficiatur:*) *nam exactam quærere conformitatem in omnibus, est potius pacem turbare.* This opinion likewise is favoured by the Glosse, (*in capit. Reus qui, de pœnitentiâ & remissione.*) where it is said, That in favour of those who are newly converted to the Faith, *detrahendum est jure.* The Church hath often practised the same, and particularly in the Councel of *Florence*; where *Pope Eugenius* the *Fourth* did very prudently dissemble with the Greeks, concerning the point of marriage; for the Greeks not consenting to treate any thing concerning Marriage, and the Pope having also already determined the point: yet *Synodicé, &, Armeniis, in decreto suo, credendum tradens; mirum dictu; Græcos ob communem concordiam recentur initam, fortiùs stabiliendam, non explicitè ad hoc credendum obstrinxit; imò pertinaciam eorum in reliquis, violata pace, ne resilirent, videns non vidit; vel* (*ut in Actis Concilij patet*), *non condemnavit.* If this was done to Persons of that authority, quality and antiquity: what shall we say of poor *Neophytes*, but only that of St. *Gregory*? *Duris mentibus simul omnia abscindere impossibile esse not dubium est: quia is, qui locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus, non saltibus elevatur.* So that in the conversion of the Gentiles (according to St. *Gregory*) *Suaviter & prudenter subinsinuare, non violenter abrumpere, Apostolici muneris est. St. Peter*, to preserve those Plants he had newly planted; *Inter Gentiles gentiliter, inter judæos judaicè victitavit.* And *St. Paul, Factus est Judæis tanquam Judæus, ut Judæos lucrifaceret; & ijs qui sub lege erant, quasi sub lege esset, ut eos qui sub lige erant, lucrifaceret, idque prudenter ad bonum animarum* (as *Baronius* declareth in his Annals in the year 51.) This is that, which the *Apostles, Saints, Councells, and Fathers* have taught by precept and examples.

And notwithstanding all these Instructions, how difficult is it to take the middle way by accommodating ones selfe to places, times, and persons, and the severall course of things? and how much good is lost, not to say, how much evill done (and even such evill as at this day we see and lament) by following every one his own judgment and fancy whatsoever it be; leaving that more certain, and saving way which was used by the Saints?

I will conclude this *Relation* with a *Paragraph* of a Letter, which the Patriark

triark of *Æthiopia Don Alphonso Mendez* wrote from *Goa* to the Cardinalls of the Congregation *de propagandâ fide*; who for his Learning, Authority, and Vertue, and above all, for his experience of *Missions*, wherein he laboured and suffered much, doth very much deserve to be believed. He saith thus:

But at the end of this Letter I do judge it not from our purpose to bemind your Eminencies, *that God hath formerly commanded, that a vine-yard should not be sowed with diverse seeds; nor that a garment ought to be woven of* Linnen *and* Woollen, *with which the* Queen *and* Spouse *is to be cloathed; wherein is implied, That the severall institutions and different manners of living of Religious Orders, ought not to be entruded upon young and tender Churches, such as are but yet in a manner sucklings; but only to be introduced into such Churches, as are come to their full strength, and are fortified by a long continuance of years. For many times, emulation growing among them, and many wanting prudence, and others abounding in an indiscreet zeale, they do many things, which tend rather to ruine than edification* &c. *The Lord blesse your Eminencies* &c. *From* Goa *the eleventh of* November 1638.

BELLVM

The Liuely Effigies of Theinmingus ỹ present Emperour of the Western Tartars, who hath Lately ouerrun and Possest himselfe allmost of the whole Empire of China.

BELLUM TARTARICUM,

OR THE

CONQUEST

OF

The Great and moſt Renovvned Empire of

CHINA,

By the Invaſion of the TARTARS, who in theſe laſt ſeven years, have wholly ſubdued that vaſt Empire.

Together with a Map of the Provinces, and chief Cities of the Countries, for the better underſtanding of the *STORY*.

Written originally in LATINE by *Martin Martinius*, preſent in the Countrey at moſt of the Paſſages herein related, And now faithfully Tranſlated into Engliſh.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Crook*, and are to be ſold at his Shop at the Sign of the Ship in S. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1655.

CHINA

To the Reader.

WHereas in the course of this insuing History there occurs frequent mention of the chiefe Provinces and Cities in China; which have either been assaulted and defended, subdued or destroyed, by the severall Armies, as well from North to South, as from East to West; least the pleasure and delight of this History, should be any way diminished by the frequent re-encounter of harsh and barbarous names of Countries, and Towns unknown to the European Reader; I thought it good to prefix a little Geographical table of the Countries, and chiefe Cities, which might serve as a guide to conduct the eye of the understanding, in the pursuit of the mentioned victories. I confesse it is not so exact as the rigour of Geography exacts, but yet it is such an one, as was drawn by the hands of their learned Phylosophers, and may well give a sufficient notion of all the places mentioned.

As for more exquisit, and rare Maps both universal and particular, as well of the Countries, as of the Cities, and of all the rarities they contain, together with the exact knowledge of their Longitudes and Latitudes, and of all that does belong either to Astronomy or Geography in relation to them; with what may be expected from Natural or Humane History, I reserve all these to my Atlas of China which I am composing; taken from their own ancient records ever since the time of Noah; all which I have with much pains and industry gathered up together, and transported with me to Europe. I will not therefore for the present deflower that work of its greatest beauty, by an unseasonable exposition of it to the Readers view; but expect till it grow to that perfection, as I hope will satisfie the appetite of this our curious Age.

Septentrio
TANYV TARTARORVM REGNVM
NIVCHE TARTARIA ORIEN
NIVLHAN
Yupi
TALIS
Gabo fluv.
LEAOTVNG
Tuxun
Leaoyang
Caiyuen
Xunning
Quangning
Taitung
PEKING
XANSI
Taiyuen
Puchau
Peking
Liaoyuan
GIAPON
Tiencu
Xanghai
COREA
Kingki
Sigan
XENSI
Xiangcheu
Cinan
XANTVNG
Caifung
HONAN
Hoigan
Hanchung
Yangchau
Nanking
Occidens
Oriens
Chingtu
HVQVANG
NANKING
Tai lacus
Sungkiang
Xiang fluv. Filius Maris
Poyang lacus
CHEKIANG
Hangcheu
Cientang flu.
SVCHVEN
Tungting lacus
Vnchang
Cheuxan
Nanchang
Kiucheu
Kiencheu
Venchcheu
KIANGSI
Kienning
Mahui lacus
FOKIEN
Canchcu
QVEICHEV
Quеicheu
Focheu
QVANGSI
Nanhiung
IVNNAN
Queilin
QVANGTVNG
Iunnan
Chaoking
Quangcheu
SITVS PROVINCIARVM
IMPERII SINICI
M.DC.LIV.
Hainan
Macao
Auster

BELLUM TARTARICUM,

OR,

The Hiſtory of the Warres of the Tartars *in* China, *&c.*

THe moſt ancient Nation of *Tartars* in *Aſia*, the Parent of many Nations, hath been an Enemy to the Empire of *China* above four thouſand years: during which time, they have had many ſharp Wars with thoſe of *China*, in which they, though ſometimes worſted, yet for the moſt part, have remained the conquerors.

The *Tartars* were ancient Enemies to *China*.

I call that Nation, *Tartars*, which inhabiteth the Northern parts, behind that famous Wall which ſtretching out above 300. *German* Leagues from Eaſt to Weſt, hath ever ſerved for a Rampart to hinder their irruptions into the ſaid Empire.

Who are the *Tartars*.

This Country the *Chineſes* having a defect of the letter R. anciently called *Tata*: comprehending under this name, not only the occidentall, but the Oriental *Tartars*, hitherto much unknown to us in *Europe*, containing the Provinces, *Sumahania*, *Tanyu*, *Niuche*, *Niulhan*, and the like, from the leſſer *Tartary*, and Kingdom of *Caſcor*, to the Oriental Sea above *Japony*, where they are ſeparated by the Streight of *Anian*, from *Quevira* in *America*, if yet it be a Streight and not a Continent.

But it is not my intention to write all the Warrs which have paſſed betwixt them; but only of ſuch as have happened in our memory, and in my preſence; All the reſt ſhall appear at large in my Abridgement of the Hiſtory of *China*. And that we may proceed with more Order, it will be neceſſary to reflect, how and from whence thoſe Troubles had their beginning.

The *Tartars* conquered *China* heretofore.

It is therefore firſt to be known, that the ancient Weſtern *Tartars*, after they had ſubdued almoſt all *Aſia* to their power, waged war againſt *China*, (of which *Paulus Venetus*, and *Ayton* make mention under the names of *Cataye* and *Maniqin*) and this before the times of great *Tamberlain*, who never ſubdued *China*, as ſome have falſly writ; for he flouriſhed about the year MCCCCVI; in which time *Taichangus*, Emperour of *China*, and the ſecond of the *Taimingian* Family (the *Tartars* being before beaten out

Tamberlain never tooke *China*.

of

of his Kingdom) governed peaceably all the Provinces included within the compaſs of that Vaſt Wall which before I mentioned.

But the War which *Paulus Venetus* toucheth, betwixt the *Chineſſes* and *Tartars* began in the year MCCVI. as their Hiſtory and Chronology teſtify, which laſting 77. years, at laſt the *Tartars* in the year MCCLXXVIII. having totally conquered all that potent Empire, extinguiſhed the Imperiall Family of the *Sungas*, and erected a new Regal Family, which they called *Fuena*; of which *Tartarian* Race nine Emperors by deſcent, governed in the Kingdom of *China* for the ſpace of LXX. years in Peace and Quietneſs; and about the end of that War, came *Paulus Venetus* into *China* with the *Tartars*, as appeareth by his Writings.

The *Tartars* Emperours of *China*.

In this tract of time, the *Tartars* forgetting their ancient Vigour of Mind and warlike Spirits, which the pleaſures and delices of that Country had quailed and tamed, and being alſo weakned by ſo long a Peace, became of a ſofter temper, and received a deep Tincture of the Nature and Diſpoſition of the Natives of *China*.

Whereupon a contemptible perſon (who was ſervant to one of thoſe deputed to offer Sacrifice to their Idols) called *Chu*, preſumed to rebell againſt them.

This man commiſerating the condition of his enſlaved Country, and alſo touched with the ambition of Reigning, firſt acted the part of a Thief, or High-way man; and being of a Generous Nature, bold, and as quick of hand, as in wit; wanted neither Courage, nor Art, nor Companions, nor Fortune, to gather ſuch a multitude as in ſhort time made up the vaſt body of an Army; whereupon depoſing the perſon of a Thief, he became a General; and with a bold attempt preſumed to ſet upon the *Tartars*, and having fought many battailes with them, obtained many ſingular Victories; ſo as in the year 1368. he finally drove them out of the Kingdom of *China*, receiving for ſo memorable an action, the whole Empire of *China* as a worthy reward of his Heroical Actions.

It was he firſt erected the Imperial Family of the *Taminges*, and being he was the firſt Emperour of that Race, ſtiled himſelf by the name of *Hunguus*; which ſignifies as much as, *The famous Warriour*.

After ſuch an illuſtrious Action, it was no wonder if all the Provinces ſubmitted to him, both as to one that was a Native of their Country; and alſo becauſe they looked on him as a man who had redeemed them from Thraldome: for it is the Nature of the people of *China* to love and eſteem their own, as much as they hate and vilifie Strangers.

Wherefore he firſt placed his Court at *Nanking* neer to the bank of that great River of *Kiang*, which the *Chineſſes*, in reſpect of the huge Mountains of water which it diſcharges into the Ocean, call the *Son of the Sea*: And having ſpeedily ordered, and eſtabliſhed that Empire, fearing no Inſurrections from theſe new redeemed Creatures, he was not contented to have chaſed the *Tartars* out of *China*, but he made an irruption into *Tartary* it ſelfe, and ſo followed the point of his Victory, as that he routed them ſeveral times, waſted all their Territories, and finally brought the Oriental *Tartars* to ſuch ſtreights, as he forced them to lay down their Arms, to pay Tribute, and even begge an Ignominious Peace. This Storm of War

fell

fell chiefly on the *Tartars* of the Province of *Niuche*, whither the *Tartars* of *China* being expelled, were retired.

Afterward thoſe *Tartars* every yeare, either as Subjects or Friends, came into *China* by the Province of *Leaotung* to traffick with the Inhabitants; For, being brought to poverty and miſery, they thought no more of making warre againſt *China*. The Merchandiſe they brought were ſeverall, as, the root cal'd *Ginſem*, ſo much eſteemed amongſt the *Chineſes*; and all ſorts of precious skins, as thoſe of *Caſtor*, *Martais* and *Zibellens*; and alſo Horſe-hair, of which the *Chineſes* make their Nets, and the men uſe it in tying up their hair, as the handſomeſt dreſſe they can appear in. But thoſe *Tartars* multiplyed ſo faſt, as they grew quickly into ſeven Governments which they call *Hordes*: and theſe fighting one againſt another, at length about the year of Chriſt MDL. were united into one Kingdome, called the Kingdome of *Niuche*.

Thus ſtood *China* in relation to the Eaſtern *Tartars*; but to the Weſtern *Tartars* they payed Tribute, masked under the Title of Preſents, that they might deſiſt from War.

For the *Chineſes* eſteem it very unhandſome to make war againſt any, if by any other means their Country can be conſerved in peace and quietneſs, being taught this by their Philoſophers.

But in the meane time, being over jealous of the Enemies to their antient riches, they never left that great Wall, which extends from Eaſt to Weſt, without a million of Souldiers to guard it.

A great Ganiſon upon the Wall againſt the *Tartars*.

Therefore this Kingdome of *China* being thus eſtabliſhed in the *Taimingian* Family, enjoyed a conſtant peace and quietneſſe for CCL. years; and whilſt the ſeven *Tartarian* Lords or Governours made civil wars, that renowned Emperour of *China*, known by the name of *Vanley* being the thirteenth Emperour of *Taiminges* Family, governed happily the Kingdome of *China* from the year 1573. to the year 1620. with as much Prudence as Juſtice and Equity.

A long Peace in *China*.

But in this time the *Tartars* of *Niuche* had ſo multiplied and ſpread themſelves, after incorporated into a Kingdome, that they became daily more formidable to *China*: And therefore the Governours of the bordering Provinces, conſulted privately amongſt themſelvs how they might curb and reſtraine theſe people within their limits: For their Governours have ſo much Power and Authority, that although they live as Slaves to their Prince, yet when there is queſtion of a Common and publick good, they govern abſolutely and uncontroulably; unleſs by ſome higher powers their orders be reſtrained.

The *Tartars* think of invading *China*.

Firſt therefore the Prefects or Governours, did abuſe the Merchant *Tartars* of *Niuche* when they came into *Leaotung*, which is a Province confines next to them.

The firſt cauſe of the *Tartarian* war.

Then again when the King of *Niuche* would have married his Daughter to another King of the *Tartars*, they hindred this marriage by repreſenting ſome pretended reaſons of State.

The ſecond cauſe.

And finally, when the King of *Niuche* ſuſpected nothing from them he conceived his friends, they took him by deceit, and killed him perfidiouſly.

The third cauſe.

The first irruption of the *Tartars* into *China*.

Wherefore to revenge theſe injuries, the Kings Son gathered a ſtrong Army, and taking his time, found meanes to get over the great Wall I mentioned; and the great River being frozen, he preſently ſet upon the great City *Kaiyven*, (or as others call it) *Taxun*, which lies upon the Confines of *Tartary*, which he took in the year MDCXVI.

The *Tartars* Proteſtation againſt *China*.

From this City he writ a Letter in *Tartarian* Characters to the Emperour of *China*, which though writ in Barbarian Characters, yet contained nothing Barbarous. By this Letter, which he ſent by one of their *Indian* Prieſts (whom they call *Lama*) in a very humble and ſubmiſſive manner he declared to him, that he had invaded his Country to revenge the injuries he had received from the Governours of the neighbouring Provinces. But yet that he was ready to reſtore the City he had taken, and depoſe his Armes, if his complaints might be heard, and ſatisfaction given him. The Emperour of *China*, called *Vanley*, having received this Letter, though otherwiſe of an eminent wiſdome, and of as great experience, yet being now broken with Age, in this buſineſſe ſeems to have proceeded with leſſe Prudence than that which accompanied the former Actions of his life; For, thinking it not to be a buſineſs of that moment as that it deſerved to be treated before him in his own Court, he remitted it to the chief Governours and Commanders. And theſe men puffed up with their uſuall pride, thought it not fit ſo much as to give an anſwer to the *Barbarian* King, but reſented it very highly that he durſt be ſo bold as to complain to the Emperor of any injury received.

The Barbarous and ſuperſtitious Vow of the *Tartarian* King.

The *Tartarian* King, ſeeing they vouchſafed no anſwer to his juſt demands, turning his anger into rage; vowed to celebrate his Fathers Funerals with the lives of two hundred Thouſand of the Inhabitants of *China*. For it is the cuſtome of the *Tartars* when any man of quality dyeth, to caſt into that fire which conſumes the dead Corps, as many Servants, Women, and Horſes, with bows and Arrows, as may be fit to atend and ſerve them in the next life: Though now ſince they conquered *China*, they have left off this Barbarous cuſtome, being reprehended and corrected for it by the *Chineſſes* themſelves. After this ſuperſtitious Vow, advancing his revenging Armes, he beſieged *Leaotung* (which was the chief City of the Province of *Leaoyang*) with 50000. men. But the City was defended by exceeding many men, who generally were all armed with Muſquets: The *Tartars* had nothing but their Scymetars, with Bows and Arrows, which they diſcharge with ſtrange Dexterity and Art. But becauſe they chiefly feared the muſquet bullets, they reſolved by a Stratagem to make that unknown Inſtrument leſſe hurtfull to them than their enemies did imagin. For the *Tartarian* King commanded ſuch as made the firſt on-ſet, to carry a thick hard board for their Shield, which was as good to them as a wooden Wall; theſe men were ſeconded by other Companies who carried Ladders to climb up the Walls; and the Horſe came up in the Rear. In this manner he ſet upon the City in foure quarters, and received the diſcharge of their Muſquets againſt his wooden wall; Then in a moment the ſcaling-ladders being applied, before they could charge again, they were upon the Walls and entred the City; for ſuch is the quickneſſe and nimbleneſſe of the *Tartars* (in which they excell all

The chiefe City of *Leaoyang* beſieged and taken.

A Stratagem againſt muſquets.

Nations,

Nations, and in which alſo they place their chief art) that in a trice, they either prevail in their deſigns, or retire: and the little skill the *Chineſſes* had in the uſe of Muſquets, was no ſmall hinderance to the warre. For the *Tartars* quickneſſe and nimbleneſſe not giving them time to charge again, being aſtoniſhed with the ſudden inundation of armed men, they preſently fled which way ſoever they could; but being purſued by the ſwift *Tartarian* Horſe, moſt of them periſhed in the taking of this great City. This City being taken, the *Tartar* like a Torrent over-run many others of leſſe note; but amongſt others, he took that Noble City *Evamgning*, and overrunning moſt ſpeedily the whole Country of *Leaotung*, he entred the Province of *Pekin*; and comming within ſeven Leagues of the very Imperiall City, He durſt not advance, fearing the Enemy might compaſſe or ſurround him, becauſe he heard that a world of men came in to help their diſtreſſed Prince. But the *Tartar* ſtruck ſuch a terrour into the hearts of all the Countries he had paſſed, as both Souldier and Citizen quitting their Houſes left the empty walls to the *Tartarians* poſſeſſion; knowing the *Tartar* to have that cuſtom and practiſe, to deſtroy and put all to fire and ſword that did reſiſt, and only pillage the Cities that ſubmitted, leaving the Citizens alive, and treating them courteouſly. By which meanes having collected a world of riches, he returned to *Leaotung* victorious. And becauſe his South-ſayers had perſwaded him that the ſtanding of the old Walls were unfortunate, he beat them down, and compaſſed it about with new, fortifying them with new Munitions, and there proclamed himſelf Emperour of *China*: For although as yet he had taken nothing of *China*, but only the skirts of the Eaſtern Country of the Province of *Leaotung*, yet in his hopes & aſpiring thoughts he had devoured the whole Kingdom: wherefore he was called in the *China* language *Theienmingus*, in the third year of his Reign, which was in that of one thouſand ſix hundred and eighteen.

Many other Cities taken.

How the *Tartars* uſed their conquered Towns.

The *Tartar* calls himſelf Emperour of *China*, *An.* 1618.

In this year, ſome in authority about the Emperour *Vanley*, demanded the baniſhment of the Prieſts, who did then preach the Chriſtian Religion to that Nation; But the Emperour (who in his heart loved Chriſtanity, and thoſe particularly that firſt planted that Religion amongſt them) gave no eare for a long while to their demands; But at length overcome by the importunity of a chief Commander, who had ever been a ſore Enemy to Chriſtian Religion, and was called *Xinchio*, it was ordained and proclamed that all thoſe *Fathers* that did propagate Chriſtan Religion ſhould be baniſhed the Kingdome. Upon which ſome of them were ſecretly concealed in ſeverall Provinces by ſome Chriſtian Governours, others being taken were carried in great Cages to *Macao*, wherein being ſhut up day and night, they ſuffered extreamly; whilſt others alſo being whipt out of the Country, rejoyced to undergoe ſomething for his ſake whoſe name they bore; but that which added more affliction to all theſe miſeries, was the Emperour *Vanley's* Prohibition to all his to profeſſe Chriſtian Religion. But, upon this occaſion, the Chriſtians of *China* (who from the horrid wilderneſſe of Infidelity, had been brought to the pleaſant Paſtures of Chriſtianity) gave illuſtrious examples of their Faith and Conſtancy; but the longer Narration of this glorious perſecution is reſerved

God puniſhed *China* for their perſecution of Chriſtians.

ved for another place. I only touch it here, to admire the Divine Providence of God, who raiſed ſo ſharp War againſt *China*, when they neglected Chriſtian Peace; and permitted, at the ſame time, theſe *Tartars* to take ſo deep a root in this Empire of *China*, as afterward grew to that height, as to extirpate the Royal Family of the *Taminges*, together with the Kingdom, at the very ſame time they went about utterly to deſtroy all Chriſtianity. But, (as ordinarily it doth) by this very perſecution, Chriſtian Religion grew to that height and greatneſſe, that the Church glories to behold it; whilſt, (unleſſe God vouchſafe to lend a potent helping hand,) the vaſt Kingdom of *China* is utterly overthrown.

In the mean time, the *Chineſes* were very ſolicitous to expell this Enemy from the bowells of their Country; and firſt, they ſelected very chief and eminent men for Commanders and Governours; then they gathered an Army of ſix hundred thouſand choiſe Souldiers. The King of *Corea* alſo ſent to the Emperour of *China*, twelve thouſand; with this potent Army therefore they went out in the beginning of *March* MDCXIX. to give Battail to the Enemy. The *Tartars* reſolved to meet them with an undaunted courage; and for a good while the event and victory was very doubtfull; but in the end the Army of *China* was wholly routed, & their chief Commanders, with fifty thouſand men, were all ſlain: The *Tartars* according to their cuſtome, proſecute the victory with all quickneſſe and diligence; for the ſame day they took and ſacked two Cities which they burned. After this, they over-run that whole Country, and came to the very Walls of *Pekin*, the Emperours Court; but durſt not venture to beſiege it, becauſe they knew (beſides the infinite number of Canons it contained) there was lodged fourſcore thouſand Souldiers in it.

But the *Chineſes* confeſs that there was ſuch a fear and conſternation in the City, that the King thought to have left that City and gone into the Southern parts of the Kingdom: which he had effectually performed, had not ſome Commanders ſuggeſted, that his flight would give courage to the Victorious, and breed trouble and confuſion in the whole Empire, being that to fly is nothing elſe but to yeeld up the land to the Enemy. Nay more, they ſay, the diſorders were ſuch in the City, that if the *Tartar* had come on, he infallibly had made himſelf Maſter of it. But the Enemy was more greedy of Prey; and therefore they diſperſed themſelves abroad, ſpoiling and burning all Towns and Cities, and killing and deſtroying an immenſe company of *Chineſes* in a moſt cruell manner; and ſo leaving all theſe places diſmantled and without Gariſons, laden with infinite Riches, they returned victorious to *Leaotung*, where they had their firſt footing.

The *Tartars* return with great Riches.

After theſe things had paſſed, that renouned Emperour of *China* call'd *Vanley* died, and left his Son *Taichangus* to ſucceed him; who begun to gather a new Army againſt the *Tartars*; but after four moneths reign he alſo died.

The Emperour *Vanley* dyes, *Taichangus* ſucceeds and dyes.

To him ſucceeded *Theinkins*, who as ſoon as he aſſumed the Crown, ſent an Embaſſadour, with many magnificent Preſents, and worthy of the *China* Monarchy to the King of *Corea*; The end of this Embaſſage was to thank him for the Auxiliary forces ſent to his Grandfather, as alſo to comfort him for the loſſe he had received in the late ſervice of *China*; & finally

Theinkins is choſen.

to

to ſollicite and preſſe for further ſuccours; For it ſeems thoſe of *Corea*, as they are nearer to *Japony*, ſo they participate more of that warlike Spirit and Fortitude, than thoſe of *China* do.

Thoſe of *Corea* more valiant than the *Chineſes*.

Beſides, that he might more effectually divert the imminent danger of his Kingdoms ruin, he leavied new Forces throughout all the Kingdom; which he ſent into the Province of *Leaotung*, to hinder the irruption of the *Tartars* any further into the Countery; And for their better ſupply with neceſſary Proviſion, he maintained a great Navie in the Haven of *Thiencin* to carry Corn and other neceſſaries for their maintenance. This Port of *Thiencin* is a Station to which an incredible number of ſhips reſort, both by Sea and Rivers, from all parts of *China*. So as by this means, by a very ſhort and compendious way, they were eaſily provided with all neceſſaries. For all the whole Country of *Leaotung* is almoſt invironed with the Sea, and the furtheſt part is but two daies diſtant by water from this Port of *Thiencin*; but by land far more time is neceſſary.

New preparations againſt the *Tartars*.

The Port of *Thiencin* very commodious.

Amongſt other Commanders which came with ſuccours to their Prince, there was one *Heroick* Lady, whom we may well call the *Amazon* or *Pentheſilean* of *China*. She brought along with her three thouſand, from the remote Province of *Suchuen*, *carrying all*, not only Maſculine minds, but mens habits alſo, and aſſuming Titles more becoming men than women. This noble and generous Lady gave many rare proofs of her courage and valour, not only againſt theſe *Tartars*, but alſo againſt the Rebells which afterwards riſs againſt their Lord and Emperour. But now ſhe came in this War to ſupply her Sons place, whom ſhe left at home in his own Kingdom, as being yet a Child, and not able to perform that Homage and Duty to which he was obliged. For in the mountains of the Country of *Suchuen* there is a King, not ſubject to him of *China*, but an abſolute Prince; yet ſo as he receives the Honour and Title of a King from the Emperour of *China*; after which Inveſtiture, his Subjects only obey him and pay Tribute; But becauſe they ſurpaſſe all others in Valour and Courage, therfore they are uſed by the Kings of *China* in warlick Affairs.

The valiant *Amazon* of *China*.

By occaſion of this war the two noble Chriſtian Doctours, *Paul* and *Michael*, found means to perſwade the Emperour to demand of the *Portugeſes* of *Macao*, ſome greater Pieces, and alſo ſome Gunnes and Gunners; hoping by this means alſo to reſtore the baniſhed Fathers of Chriſtianity, as alſo the Religion it ſelf. And their Propoſition took effect; for both the one and the other were ſent for; and the Fathers who hitherto ſecretly negotiated the buſineſſe of Religion were publickly admitted again, and many new Souldiers of *Portugal* came to help the Army.

The firſt invention of the Chriſtians to advance Chriſtianity.

And God did moſt abundantly recompence to the Emperour this favour done to Chriſtianity: For, before the *Portugeſe* arrived, his Army had caſt the *Tartars* out of *Leaotung*, by means of the Inhabitants of that Country, who being much exaſperated by the *Tartarians* cruelty, opened their City Gates as ſoon as the King of *China's* Army appeared, and riſing againſt their Gariſon, gave entrance to the Army. Inſomuch as they recovered the Metropolitan Town of *Leaotung*: For the King of *Tartary* being diverted by other Wars at home could not come ſoon enough to relieve it: So as by this means the affairs of *China* began to recover Life,

The *Tartars* are caſt out.

and

and Strength, and the *Tartars* ſeemed wholly reſtrained.

The *Tartars* make war again. They beſiege *Leaoyang*, and take it.

But though Fortune ſeemed now to ſhew a ſmiling face for *China*, yet, as her cuſtome is, ſhe ſtood not long conſtant and ſtable: For the *Tartarian* King having diſpatched his affairs in *Tartary*, ſent preſently ſixty thouſand Horſe to beſiege *Leaoyang* again; promiſing that himſelf in perſon would follow with greater Forces. And this Army took that ſtrong City in the ſpace of forty hours; both parties fighting with ſuch vigour and fierceneſs, that thirty thouſand of the Gariſon were killed, and the *Tartars* loſt about twenty thouſand of theirs. Nay the *Chineſſes* affirm, that they had never woon the City, had not the Governor been corrupted by great promiſes of reward, to open them one of the Gates of the Town. But be it as it will, the *Tartars* woon the Town; The Vice Roy hanged himſelf for grief; The Kings Viſitor was taken by the enemy, but could never be brought to ſubmit himſelf, or to beſtow the Title of a King upon the *Barbarian*; for which, in admiration and reward of his Conſtancy and Fidelity, he obtained life and freedom; but, knowing that according to the cuſtom of *China*, he was guilty of death, only becauſe he had fought unfortunately, more cruel to himſelf than the barbarous Enemy, he hanged himſelf.

Conſtancy rewarded by the Enemy.

The *Tartars* having taken the City, proclamed by Edict, that they ſhould kill none, if they would cut their hair, and uſe the *Tartarians* Habit. For the *Tartars* (that I may ſay ſomething of their Manners, as my ſubject gives me occaſion) do ſhave both the Head and Beard, reſerving only the Muſtachoes, which they extend to a great length, and in the hinder part of their heads they leave a Tuff, which being curiouſly woven and plated, they let hang down careleſly below their ſhoulders; they have a round and low Cap, which is alwaies garniſhed round with ſome pretious skin three fingers broad, of *Caſtor* or *Zibellin*, & ſerveth to defend their Temples, Ears, and Foreheads from colds & other Tempeſts. That which appears above the skin being covered over either with curious red ſilke, or elſe with black and purple horſe-hair, which they die and dreſſe moſt curiouſly; ſo as their appurtenances being decently joyned together, makes the cap both commodious and handſom. Their Garments are long Robes falling down to the very foot, but their ſleeves are not ſo wide and large as the *Chineſes* uſe, but rather ſuch as are uſed in *Polony*, & *Hungary*, only with this difference, that they faſhion the extremity of the Sleeve, ever like a Horſe his Hoof. At their Girdle there hangs on either ſide two Handkerchiefes to wipe their face and hands; beſides, there hangs a Knife for all neceſſary uſes, with two Purſes, in which they carry *Tobacco*, or ſuch like Commodities. On their left ſide they hang their Scymiters, but ſo as the point goes before, and the handle behind, and therefore when they fight they draw it out with the right hand behind them without holding the Scabbard with the other. They ſeldome weare Shoes; and uſe no ſpurrs to their Boots, which they make either of Silk, or of Horſe-skin very neatly dreſt; but they often uſe fair Pattins, which they make three Fingers high. In riding they uſe Stirrups, their Trappings are both lower and broader than ours, their faces are comely, and commonly broad as thoſe of *China* alſo have, their colour is white, but their Noſe is not ſo flat, nor their eyes ſo little, as the

The *Tartars* Habits and Manners.

Chineſes

Chineſes are; They ſpeak little, and ride penſively. In the reſt of their manners they reſemble our *Tartars* of *Europe*, though they be nothing ſo barbarous. They rejoyce to ſee Strangers: They no way like the grimneſs and ſoureneſs of the *Chineſſe* gravity, and therefore in their firſt abords they appear more humane.

Having thus briefly deſcribed their manners, we reſume our former diſcourſe, and return to the victorious *Tartars* in the City they had taken; In which, finding many rich and wealthy Merchants of other Provinces, they publiſhed a Licence that they might depart with their Goods; and withall commanded them ſpeedily to void the City; who preſently obeying the order, carried away all their goods and riches, little ſuſpecting the perfideous treachery of the *Tartars*; For they had not gone three miles from the Town, but being ſet upon by the *Tartars*, they were plundred of their goods, and loſt all their lives; which being done, they returned into the fearfull City, laden with Riches, the Citizens trembling, leſt they might happely experience the like perfidiouſneſſe.

The *Tartars* perfidiouſneſs.

But the *Tartar* conſidering at how dear a rate he had bought the maſtering of that City, and fearing alſo to find the like proviſion and preparation in other Cities, they durſt not make any further attempt; for they knew well that the Emperour had not only fortified all the ancient places, but erected alſo new munitions, in the ſtraights of many hard and rude paſſages.

And amongſt all other ſtrong Holds; that of *Xanghai*, ſcituated in the Iſland of *Cu*, was moſt eminent; containing a vaſt number of men in the Garriſon, to reſiſt the further progreſſe of the *Tartarian* Forces. But that which moſt of all repreſſed the *Tartars*, was the great valour of the incomparable Commander *Maovenlungus*; who having with his great Fleet taken an Iſland neer *Corea* in the mouth of the River *Yalo*, vexed much their Army in the Rear, and was victorious in ſeverall Skirmiſhes againſt them; ſo that the *Tartars* bent all their care and thoughts againſt this their Enemy. This renowned perſon was born in the Province of *Evangtung*, where being neer the *Portugeſe* of *Macao*, he had much perfected himſelf in the Art of war, and he brought with him many great pieces of Artillerie, which he had recovered from the Shipwrack of a *Holland* Ship, upon the coaſts of that Territorie. And becauſe the Emperour of *China* had declared the City of *Ninguyven* to be the chief (in place of *Leaoyang*) (where alſo he had placed a new *Vice roy*, and his Royall Viſitor) therefore *Maovenlungus* placed the beſt part of his Artillarie upon the Walls of this City.

The valianteſt Commander of *China*.

The *Tartars* therefore acted nothing till the year 1625. and becauſe they reſolved to beſiege the new Metropolitan City of *Ninguyven*, they firſt purpoſed to trie *Maovenlungus* his fidelity; offering him halfe of the Empire of *China*, if he would help them to gain it; But that noble Soul of his, proved as faithfull, as valiant, by rejecting thoſe demands with indignation; and came preſently with his Forces to ſuccour the City *Ninguyven* which they beſieged; by which means, the *Tartars* having loſt ten thouſand men, were put to flight; and amongſt the reſt, the King of *Tartary's* own Sonne was killed. Wherefore being furious with anger, they paſſed

The faithfulneſſe of the Commanders in *China*,

The overthrow of the *Tartars*.

sed the frozen Sea, and invaded the Island *Thaoyven*, where they killed ten thousand that kept Garrisons there, together with all the Inhabitants; and by this one Act, having revenged their former discomfiture, they returned into *Tartary*, not with a resolution to sit still, but an intention to returne with greater Forces; By which retreat, all things remained quiet till the year 1627. in which the Emperour *Thienkius* dyed in the flow'r of his age, and with him the whole Empire of *China* seemed to fall to ruin and destruction; and, in the same year, the King of the *Tartars*, who had cruelly murdered many men, himselfe augmented the number of the dead.

Their cruelty.

The Kings of *China*, and *Tartary* both died.

After *Thienkius*, in the Empire of *China*, succeeded that unhappy Emperour *Zungchinius*, brother to the former, (of whom more hereafter.) And after *Thienmingus* King of *Tartary*, succeeded *Thienzungus* his Son, who changed the manner of his Fathers Government, and by good Councell began to governe the *Chineses* in courteous and sweet manner; but though he lived not long, yet he served for a good example for his Son to conquer *China* more by Civility and Humanitie, than by force of Armes.

Zungchinius chosen Emperour of *China*.

Thienzungus more milde than his Predecessors.

In this year, great *Maovenlungus* Souldiers being insolent by want of action, grew very troublesome and offensive, by their Rapines and Disorders, to the *Coreans*, who were friends and Allies; and particularly they much exasperated the Province of *Hienkin*; insomuch that some of the Inhabitants of that place, moved with indignation of severall passages, secretly treated with the *Tartarian* King, to invade the *Chinesses* Army, in the habit and attire of the Inhabitants of *Corea*, from whom they could expect no treason, being leaguerd with them in friendship and amitie: to effect which design, these Traitours both to their Country, King, and the Emperour of *China*, promised their best assistance. This Counsel pleased the *Tartar*; and therefore he sent a Vice-roy with a potent Army, to which the *Coreans* shewed the wayes, and guided them through all the passages; who falling upon the *Chineses* Armie (which suspecting nothing, was divided, and many straggling up and down the Country) madea huge Carnage amongst them. But when *Maovenlungus* perceived they were *Tartars*, he presently made head, rallied his forces, and vigorously opposed all those sharp assaults. But yet at length he was forced to yeeld the Field; and therefore leaving a Regiment or two, to hold the Enemie in action whilst his Army retreated, he fled to his ships, and to the Island which he had fortified. The *Tartars* were vexed and grieved, both to see their victory so bloody, and also that *Maovenlungus*, whom they chiefly aimed at, had escaped with most of his Army; and therefore enraged with anger, they fell upon the *Corean* Traitors, as false to them, and killed every man; (which action the King of *Tartary* himself afterward much condemned;) and then turning their wrath to the four Northern Provinces, which border upon *Tartary*, they wasted and destroyed them all in a moment.

The Souldiers Insolencies exasperate the Country of *Corea*.

The *Tartars* are brought into *Corea*.

Corea wasted.

In the mean time the King of *Corea* gathered an Army to resist the *Tartars*; and *Maovenlungus* also, having recruited his Forces, came into *Corea*, to revenge the received losse. The victorious *Tartars* were come within seven

seven Leagues of the principalleſt City of all *Corea*. And, finding the King to have taken the Straights and Paſſages of the Mountains which lead unto it, they deſperately reſolved to force their paſſage. The Battel was hardly begun, when *Maovenlungus*, after a long march, falls in upon their Rear: the *Tartars* finding themſelves encompaſſed before & behind, nor any means to eſcape but by dint of Sword, fought moſt deſperately, ſuſtaining the ſhock of two Armies; ſuch was the fury of this battell, as *China* never ſaw; for, (it is ſtrange to write, yet very true) of the three Armies, none was victorous; but all, in a manner, deſtroyed. Of the *Tartarian* Armie fifty thouſaud were found wanting; The *Corean* Armie loſt ſeveny thouſand; and few or none eſcaped of the *Chineſes*; for their Quarter being moſt commodious for the *Tartars* flight, they there made their moſt vigorous Charges, and ſo forced their way towards their own Country. So as none of them all gained the field, or could proſecute the courſe of a Victory. Yet the King of *Corea* made a ſhift to rallie ſo many together again, as to take poſſeſſion of thoſe his Countries which the *Tartarians* by their flight had left deſolate. But the *Tartars* after all their loſſes, ceaſed not to make frequent in-rodes into the Country of *Leaotung*, and took all the Orientall part of it. From thence they made incurſions into the other part, and carried away great Preys and Booties; But they were alwayes ſo beaten, and ſo defeated, as they could never fix a conſtant habitation there. For by this time were arrived ſeven excellent Gunners from the *Portugheſe* quarters, which both by themſelves, and by teaching the *Chineſes*, advanced infinitely the King of *China* his affairs; eſpecially where that Chriſtan Vice-Roy, called *Sun Ignatius*, was Commander in chiefe; of whoſe affairs we ſhal ſay ſomething hereafter.

The Fight and ſlaughter of 3. Armies.

The Eaſtern part of *Leaotung* is under the *Tartar*.

The *Portugeſe* ſend ſuccour.

In this conjuncture of affairs, the Emperour *Zungchinius* ſent a new Commander called *Yvenus* into *Leaotung*, with a new Armie and full power to conclude a Peace with the *Tartars*, if they would admit it: For the diſorders of the times had cauſed ſo many needy perſons, Theevs, and Cut throats, that the Emperour grew more anxious how to ſuppreſſe this great domeſtick Enemie, which ſeemed to aim at the Kingdoms ruin, than he was of the *Tartarian* Forces. This *Yvenus* was a crafty and ſubtill wit, moſt eloquent both in ſpeaking and writing; who by politick diſcourſes, drawn from his military experience, had wrought ſo much, not only upon the Emperours mind, but alſo upon all the Councell, that they eſteemed what he concluded as a Law to be obſerved: Wherefore the *Chineſes* put all their confidence in him; nor had they been fruſtrated of their hopes, had not this wicked man been more wedded to his own intereſt, and love of Riches, than to the publick good, and fidelitie to his Prince: For firſt he received of the *Tartars* a vaſt Summe of gold; which wrought ſo much upon him, as that having invited to a Banquet that moſt Valorous and Faithfull Champion *Maovenlungus*, whom the *Tartars* only feared, he there poiſoned that great Commander. After this he made a moſt ignominious and ſhamefull Peace with the *Tartars*, condeſcending to all, that thoſe that had fed him with Riches, could deſire. But when the Emperour had peruſed the Treatie, he preſently found his Plenipotentiarian had ſold him, and therefore refuſed to ratifie or confirm the Articles.

A crafty Commander of the *China* Army.

Maovenlungus poiſoned.

Wh at ſhould *Yvenus* act in this exigent? That he might force the Emperour to admit them, he perſwaded the *Tartars*, in the year 1630. to enter *China* by another Country than that which was committed to his charge, promiſing them for his part, he would no way with his Army hinder their progreſſe. The *Tartars* knew that his avarice had ſo potent an Aſcendent over him, as that they need to fear no hurt from him; and upon that confidence admitted of his Counſell. Wherefore being ſecure from all aſſaults from any Enemie behind them, they entred the Province of *Peking*, & at length beſieged the Kings Court: Inſomuch that his Councel perſwaded him to leave the Imperial City, and retire to the Southern Provinces; but he proteſted he would rather die, than quit the Northern quarters; and not only ſo, but he forbade any to depart the Court, or Town beſieged. In the mean time, the *Tartars* make many fierce aſſaults, and as often were valiantly beaten back with great loſſe and Carnage. *Yvenus* was called to reſiſt the *Tartars*, for as yet his Traiterous Complots were not diſcovered. And leſt he ſhould diſcover his Treaſon, he comes with his Armie neer the very Walls of the Court, which was of a vaſt extent, and as it were a great partition between the two Armies, from which both the *Chineſe* and *Tartars* forces were perfectly diſcerned. But though *Yvenus* was under the Emperours eye, yet he acted little; for his only aim being to returne home laden with Riches, he never deſiſted to perſwade the Emperour to admit his conditions of Peace. So that the Emperour finding him evidently to be a Traitor, diſcloſing his intention to none of his Councel nor Governours, ſends to invite him to a private Councel of war, giving alſo order that he ſhould be admitted into the City over the Walls, leſt if any Gate ſhould be open, the *Tartar* being ſo neer might preſſe in upon them; but indeed he ordered the buſineſſe in this manner, leſt he ſhould bring his Armie into the City with him. *Yvenus* therefore knowing he had many chief men about the Emperous perſon, who were both his favourities and friends, and that none of them gave him the leaſt ſign of any diſtaſte that the Emperour might conceive againſt him, boldly and ſecurely preſented himſelf at Court; and as ſoon as he appeared, he was preſently arreſted, and after ſome few queſtions, the Emperour commanded him to be killed. The *Tartars* hearing of his death (before the *China* Armie had a new General aſſigned) raiſe the ſiege, ranſack all the Country round about, and after they had made excurſions to the next bordering Province of *Xantung*, richly laden with all manner of Spoiles, returne to their firſt reſidence in *Leaotung*.

The Kings Court beſieged.

The perfidious Gener al killed

The *Tartars* forrage all the Country of *Peking*, & depart.

From theſe times til the year 1636. the event of their Warrs was very various; but in general we obſerve, that the *Tartars* could never fix a foot in *China*, but they were preſently beaten out again. In this ſame year *Thienzungus*, King of the *Tartars* died; after whom, ſucceeded his Son *Zangteus*, Father to him that now governs *China*, of whom we now muſt begin to treat.

The King of *Tartary* dies; another ſucceeds.

This Prince, before his Reign, expreſſed much judgement in ſeverall Occurrences, ſurpaſſing all the Kings of *Tartary* in Humanity, and obliging courteſie: For when he was young, he was ſent by his Father into *China*, where he lived ſecretly, and learned the *China's* Manners, Doctrine and Language, and now coming to the Kingdom, he changed, and far ſurpaſ-

Zungteus the new King of *Tartary*, prudent & milde.

ſed

ſed all the Examples of his Predeceſſors: For having obſerved, that their too hard and cruel uſage of the *Chineſſes*, had been the principal obſtacle of their advancement, to the end he might conquer that Empire he ſo much thirſted after, as well by Love as by Arms, he courteouſly entertained and cheriſhed all thoſe of *China* which came unto him, uſing all Priſoners with great ſweetnes, and inviting them either to ſubmit freely to his Government, or take their courſe with full freedom. The fame of his humanitie was ſpred far and neer; which induced many Commanders and chief Officers to fly unto him; by whoſe means and help, at length he became Emperour of that ſpacious and flouriſhing Country. For experience ſhews us, that Love and Humanity do work more upon mens hearts, in conquering and conſerving Kingdomes, than Arms; and crueltie of the Conquerors hath loſt that, which ſtrength of Arms had happily ſubdued. Wherefore when the *Chineſſes* came to underſtand, that the King of *Tartary* did not only afford them a refuge, but friendſhip, many great perſons flying the Indignation of the King of *China*, ſheltered themſelves under the *Tartars* protection. For, by reaſon of the *China's* great Avarice and Perfidiouſneſs, it's a neceſſary, (though moſt inhumane) Maxim, that thoſe Officers periſh, who have managed the Kingdomes Affairs with leſſe ſucceſſe. For they eaſily are brought to beleeve, that ſuch unhappy events, do not proceed ſo much from the frown of inconſtant Fortune, as it doth from the perfidie or negligence of the Commanders. So as if any fought unhappily, or if he loſt the Country committed to his charge, if any Sedition or Rebellion happened, the Governors hardly ever eſcaped alive. Seeing therefore they found ſo much Humanitie in the *Tartar*, and ſo much Inhumanity in the Emperor, they rather choſe to fly to the former.

Mildeneſſe and Gentleneſs to be uſed in Conquering Nations.

A barbarous Principle of the *Chineſes*.

By this occaſion give me leave to relate what happened to that incomparable Commander (renowned both for Fidelitie and Fortitude) called *Ignatius*. This Heroick mind preferd his fidelitie to his Prince, before his life, before the *Tartarian's* protection, yea even before the ſtrength of his formidable Army; and choſe rather, with his unparallel'd Fidelity, to ſubmit his head to a Block by an unjuſt ſentence, than to abandon his Country, or once commit the leaſt fault againſt his Soveraign, though guilty of much injuſtice towards Him: He might perchance have ſwayed the Soveraign Scepter of *China*, if he would have hearkened to his Souldiers, but he rather choſe to die glorioufly, than to be branded with the name of a Traitor.

Ignatius the chief Commander of the Chriſtians unjuſtly killed.

Ignatius his fidelity.

After this man therefore had gained ſeveral Victories againſt the *Tartars*, and recovered many Cities from their poſſeſſion, ſo as he hoped ſhortly wholly to extirpate them out of *China*, His Souldiers being long without pay, ſeditiouſly plundred and pillaged a Town which had ever been faithfull to the King. *Ignatius* by ſeveral petitions and Remonſtrances to the Emperour, had declared his wants of mony, and their want of Pay; but becauſe he fed not thoſe venal ſouls that mannaged the buſineſſe for mony and preſents, they alwaies ſuppreſſed his humble addreſſes for relief. Beſides, this man being a very pious Chriſtian, he did nothing in his government, but what was conform to Reaſon and Juſtice; which was the

Ignatius his Piety.

cauſe he incurred the hatred of all the ancient Prefects; who uſually receiving Bribes from the conteſting parties, demanded favour of *Ignatius* for their Clients. But it was in vain to intercede for any, unleſſe the juſtneſſe of the cauſe did alſo ballance their Petitions. And theſe men attributing this proceeding, not to vertue, but to his Pride, thinking themſelves undervalued by him, dealt under-hand with the Prefects in the Court, to ſtop the Armies pay, that ſo they might deſtroy this innocent man. Moreover, he was envied by the Commanders in the very Court, becauſe he came to this eminent dignitie by his own valour and induſtry; which they imagined was only to be given to Doctors, and *Ignatius* was but a Licenciat; as if the moſt learned muſt needs be alſo the moſt valorous. In this conjuncture of affairs, the Souldiers not contented with the ſeditious pillage, ſeeing the moſt imminent danger hanging over their moſt eſteemed and beloved Governour, by reaſon of their folly, go about to perſwade him to make himſelf King of that Province; nay more, to take the whole Empire to himſelf, as a thing due to his Proweſs and Merits; promiſing their whole ſtrength to effect the buſineſſe; and alſo to extirpate thoſe men about the Emperour, that aimed more to compaſſe their malicious ends, than to promote the general affaires of the Empire: But *Ignatius*, by pious admonitions, ſtaved them off from further violence, made them obedient and quiet, commanded all to ſtand faithfull to the Emperour of *China*, and puniſhed the chief of that ſedition.

This ſupreme act of fidelity deſerved a better eſteem and acceptance, than that which was returned by the Emperour and his Court: who ſlighting this his allegeance, ſent another Vice-Roy in his place, and commanded him to appear in Court: He then perceived they aimed at his life; and the Souldiers ſuſpected the buſineſſe; and therefore, mad with anger, they all jointly roſe in Arms for him, ſwearing they would live and die with him, and that he ſhould not preſent himſelfe at Court. *It is our duty* (ſay they) *to conſerve thy life, which haſt been ſo carefull of ours; and we have ſtrength and courage enough to reſiſt all the force of thy perfidious Enemies.*

He chuſes rather to die, than either to reign, or to ſerve the *Tartars.*

But *Ignatius* was deaf to all theſe allurements, and ſtudied by all means to ſweeten their exulcerated minds; alwaies inculcating to them to die true and loyall to their Soveraigns ſervice: chuſing rather to water that ungratefull Soil of his native Country with the ſtreams of his Blood, than either to ſpill his Enemies blood by the force and pow'r of his Souldiers, or to retire to the *Tartarian* King, which offered him ſo fair preferments. But many of his Captains fell off to the *Tartars*; following, in this, not his example, but that of many others, whom they ſaw eminently promoted amongſt the *Tartars*. Some of thoſe that then fled from the Emperour, are now chief Commanders under the *Tartarian* King, in their *China* Empire; ſome alſo have obtained the dignity of Princes, or Royolets in ſeveral Countries, for the reward of their Valour and faithfull Service againſt *China. So much more piercing is that wedge, which is made of the ſame wood.*

But although hitherto theſe *Tartarian* Wars had cauſed great troubles & tempeſts in the *China* Empire, yet all things now ſeemed ſo calmed and pacified, as they ſeemed ſecure from any further danger; for the Weſtern part

part of *Leaotung* was ſtrongly fortified, and there was a great Army in the Iſland of *Cu*, and the bordering quarters, which hindered the *Tartars* in the Eaſtern part of the Country, which they poſſeſſed, from further paſſage. But now the chiefeſt danger was from the Traitors and Theeves which were in the very Bowells of the Country; who finally deſtroyed it, and gave it up in Prey to the *Tartars*.

The Theeves in *China*, a chief occaſion of its overthrow.

I touched ſomthing of their Commotions before, now we muſt treat a little more largely of their proceedings, that the Reader may ſee how the *Tartars* came to ſubdue and conquer *China*.

The firſt Combination of theſe Rovers appeared in the remote Country of *Suchuen*, who having pillaged divers Cities, and emboldened by proſperous ſucceſſe, ventured to beſiege the chief City of that Country call'd *Cingtu*; which they had infallibly taken, if that valiant Amazon, whom I mentioned before, had not come to relieve it with her Army; but by her valour they were beaten off with great loſſe; and, not being wholly extinguiſhed, they retired into the mountains to recruit their Forces. Theſe were ſeconded by a like race of people in the Province of *Queicheu*, who took occaſion of riſing by reaſon of an unjuſt Sentence paſſed in a ſute betwixt two Grandees of that Country; he who loſt the cauſe being offended with the Governors. Theſe roving companions, firſt kill'd all the Magiſtrates which had pronounced that unjuſt ſentence; and then they defeated the Vice-Roy his Army; yet afterwards he routed them with a new Army, but could not extinguiſh them. Beſides theſe, the Famin increaſing in the Northern quarters in the Countries of *Xenſi* and *Xantung*, by reaſon of a great inundation of Locuſts which devoured all, there riſs up by this occaſion, many looſe fellowes which lived by Rapin. Theſe men at firſt were few in number, and ſmall in ſtrength, and after only preying in little places, preſently fled to the Mountains; but finding they got both Meat and Riches, with little labour and leſſe coſt, they quickly got Companions to re-inforce them; This Sedition being alſo much augmented by the Emperour *Zungchinius* his notable avarice, who ſo exhauſted the people by Impoſts and Taxes, as if it had been a year of the golden Age. The Prefects of the Provinces, not being able preſently to repreſſe the inſolency of thoſe people, they daily increaſed in courage and ſtrength; Inſomuch as in ſeveral Countries they had eight very conſiderable Armies. They choſe the ſtrongeſt & valianteſt men amongſt them for their Commanders; and theſe perſons being grown rich and potent by preying, depoſed now the perſon of Ring-leaders of Theeves, and aſpired to no leſſe than to the Empire of *China*. And at firſt they fought one againſt another, every one pillaging another of what he could: But at length things were brought to that paſſe, that two of the Commanders being only left alive, theſe two prevailed with the Souldiers of thoſe that were killed, to follow their Enſignes and Fortune; and they knowing well that if they were taken by the Emperors Officers, they could not eſcape a moſt certain death, eaſily reſolved to ſhelter themſelves under the Arms of theſe two victorious perſons. The name of one of theſe chief Brigands was *Licungzus*; the ſecond was called *Changhienchungus*; two notorious bold roguiſh fellows; who leſt they ſhould deſtroy one anothers fortunes by their ambitious emulation,

Severall Theeves.

They are defeated, but not vanquiſhed

Famin augments the Theeves.

And the Emperour his avarice.

The Commanders aſpire to the Empire.

The names of the chief felons

emulation, ſeparated themſelves far from one another, reſolving both to purſue their proſperous fortunes. *Licungzus* therefore poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Northern parts of *Xenſi* and *Honan*; and the other tyrannized over the Countries of *Suchuen* and *Huquang*. But that we may not interrupt our diſcourſe, by delivering the Acts of both theſe together, we will firſt treat of *Licungzus* his feats, being he was the cauſe of the *Tartars* coming to the Empire, (which he himſelf might have poſſeſſed, if his proceedings had been moderate and humane;) and of the other we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. Therefore in the year 1641. theſe pilferers having got immenſe riches in the Province *Xenſi*, made an irruption, in a vaſt body, into that delicious ſweet Province of *Honan*, and went ſtrait to the chief City called *Caifung*, which they beſieged. There was in that place a very great and ſtrong Gariſon, who by the benefit of Artillery mounted upon hand-wheeling Cars, forced them to quit the ſiege; then they fell upon all the neighbouring Cities, plundring, ſpoiling, and burning all they could maſter. Having hoorded up ſtore of proviſion of Corn, and augmented their Army by a company of raſcally Vagabonds and loytering Fellows, they returned again to beſiege the Metropolitan City; but diſpairing to take it by Force or Aſſaults, they reſolved to ruin it by a long ſiege, that they might enjoy the immenſe Riches of that noble City; and though this Town be three great Leagues in circumference, yet they rounded it ſo by their lines, as nothing could enter the City; this drave them to ſome ſtraits; for although the Purveyer for victualls had brought in good ſtore of proviſion in the two moneths ſpace in which they were abſent, yet becauſe that Province which uſed to be moſt plentifull, was now deficient in Corn, they could not make ſufficient proviſion for ſix moneths ſiege, for ſuch an infinite multitude of people as were retired within the Walls; Yet it held out moſt reſolutely for the ſpace of ſix moneths, in which time though they were brought to hard ſhifts, yet hoping alwaies for ſuccour from their Emperor, they would never ſubmit to any conditions. I dare not relate to what an exceſſe this Famin came to; but it ſeems it ſurpaſſed the Famin of *Hieruſalem*; a pound of Rice was worth a pound of Silver; and a pound of any old rotten skin was ſold at ten Crowns; dead mens fleſh was ſold publickly in the Shambles as Hogs fleſh, and it was held an act of Piety to expoſe the dead in the ſtreets for others to feed on, who ſhortly were to be food for others; but I will paſſe over, and conceal yet more horrible things than I have related. This City lies towards the South ſide of that vaſt and precipitate River which the *Chineſes* call *Hoang*, becauſe the ſtreams alwaies appear of a yellowiſh ſaffron colour; and becauſe the River is higher than the plain levell downs, of a Leagues diſtance from the Town, they built upon the River ſide, a long and ſtrong Bulwark of great ſquare ſtones, to prevent all inundations. The Emperours Army, after long expectation, came to relieve the Town, and advanced as far as theſe Bulwarks, and having conſidered the ſituation of the Country and Enemies Camp, it was thought the fitteſt & eaſieſt way to raiſe the ſiege without giving battail, and to let in the water upon the enemies Army, by ſome breaches made in that long Wall or Bulwark. It was in *Autumn* when they took this reſolution, and the River, by reaſon of extraordinary rains, was ſwoln bigger than

They vex ſeveral Provinces.

They beſiege the noble City *Caifung*.

An unheard of Famin.

than ever before; and they, making the Sluces, or inlets, too great, and the Breaches too wide, gave way to such an Ocean of water, as it overran the walls of the Town (which were very stately and high) involving not only many of the enemies in its ruin and destruction; but also 300000. men, and the City it self perished in those floods of water. So the ancient City, which heretofore had been honoured by the Emperor's Residence, appeared no more a place of pleasure, but a vast Pool or Lake for Monsters of the waters to inhabit; for the houses of the Town were not over-run with water, but also beaten down; and also the Church of the Christians, together with their Priest, who was one of the Society of Jesus; who when he could timely enough have saved himselfe, chose rather to laydown his life for the sheepe: For that City had many Christians. The destruction of this City happened the ninth of *Oct.* 1642. about which time this famous Conductour of Theeves took the name of King, with an addition of *Xunvang*, which founds as much as *Prosperous*, and so was stiled *Licungzus the prosperous*; and having in a manner taken all the Country of *Honan* into his Dominion, he returned into the Province of *Xensi*, and won it wholly to his subjection. When he came to *Sigan*, which is the Metropolis of *Xensi*, he found some resistance from the Garrison; but yet he took it in three daies, and for a reward and encouragement to his Souldiers, he gave it to them to pillage also for three daies space; and then he gathered up all the Corn of the whole Province, as well to keep all the Country in their duty to him, as also to leave no Provision for the Emperours Army. And now thinking himself secure of the whole Empire, he took the name of Emperour upon him, and stiled the Family wherein he thought to establish this Dignity, *Thienxunam*, as much as to say, *Obedient to Heaven*; By which Title he perswaded the Souldiers and the People, that it was by the dispossall of the Heavens that he should raign, that he might deliver the people from the Emperours Avarice, and extirpate those wicked Governours that so much vexed the Nation, & deliver them from all their perfidious plots. For he knew well, that this Glorious Title would be very acceptable to them of *China*, who beleeve that Kingdoms and Empires come only from Heaven, and are not gained by any Art or Industry of Man; and that his actions might carry a face correspondent to his illustrious Title, he began to use the People with all humility and sweetnesse; not permitting any Souldier to wrong or injure them; only he persecuted all the Officers call'd Presidents, which he could find, and all those he put to death; and as for those that had been Presidents, because he found them rich, he made them pay great Fines, and let them live; remitting all Taxes in the places he subdued; severely commanding that the subjects should be treated with all civility and courtesie. So as all men applauding and loving so sweet and milde a Government, easily submitted to his Power and Dominion; but where the Governours use Tyranny, there the subject hath little care of Fidelity. There were in this City *Sigan* two Priests which served the Christians that were Jesuits, and suffered much in the saccage of the City, but being afterwards known for Strangers, they were used with all humanity.

The City of *Caifung* is drowned.

The General of the Theeves takes the Title of a King.

He takes the Country of *Xensi*.

Calls himself Emperour.

The Theeves good Government.

In the mean time a third cause of this Empires ruin grew up in the Court;

The Prefects Diſcord was another cauſe of the ruine of *Chin a.*

Court; which was hatched in the Emperour *Thienkius* his time: For that Emperour exalted an Eunuch called *Gueio*, to ſuch a height and power, as he gave the abſolute, and ſoveraign Command into his hands, and paſſed ſo far, as alwayes to ſtile him by the name of Father. This extravagant power cauſed much Envy, Diſſention, and banding one againſt another, amongſt the Governours, Preſidents, Commanders, and Counſellors: and the Eunuch alſo added much to incenſe the flame, by his indiſcreet uſage of the favour he poſſeſſed; for if any man had touched him, either in word or writing, or expreſſed leſſe reſpect unto him in converſation, or behaviour, or did not flatter the baſe fellow, he would preſently give order to put him to death, though he were a very eminent perſon; or at leaſt degrade him from all Office or Dignity. By which means he exaſperated many, and amongſt the reſt he offended *Zunchinius* when Prince; who now, by the death of his Brother without iſſue, was come to to be Emperour of *China*. This Emperour knew that the Eunuch had moved Heaven and Earth to hinder his coming to the Crown; but ſeeing he could not effect that, at leaſt he maintained a ſeditious faction againſt the great ones, which finally proved the deſtruction of the Eſtate; For theſe men banding in two factions, ſtudied more how to deſtroy one another, than to advance the publique good; yet both parties pretended the general benefit, but both neglected it; Every party endeavouring to extoll and exalt his own Creatures into places of truſt and power: All which when *Zunchinius* the emperour went about to redreſſe, he exaſperated the minds of many of the Commanders againſt him; for as ſoon as he came to the Crown, he cruelly perſecuted all that favoured the Eunuch; and in fine, killed this very Eunuch which had been his Predeceſſors Favourite, together with many more of his partie; of which Tragedy I will only relate the Cataſtrophe. The Emperour *Zungchinius* reſolving to deſtroy both the Eunuch & all his power, ſent him an order to go viſit the Tombs of his Anceſtors, to conſider if any of thoſe ancient Monuments wanted reparation: the Eunuch could not refuſe ſo honourable an imployment, which ſeemed rather an addition to his former hounours; but he had not gone far upon his journey, but there was preſented to him (from the Emperour) a Box of Silver gilt, with a Halter of Silk folded up in it; by which he underſtood he was to hang himſelf by the Emperors order: which he could not refuſe, being that kind of death (amongſt the *Chineſes*) is counted honourable, when it is accompanied with ſuch formalities. But by this occaſion the Emperour raiſed againſt himſelf new Factions and more Traitours, which held ſecret correſpondence with the Theeves Army. Hence it came to paſſe, that no Army was ſent to oppoſe them; or if any went, they did no manner of action, being alwayes hindered by the emulation of others; nay it happened often, that when they might have taken great advantages, yet the occaſion was neglected, leſt the Commanders ſhould increaſe other mens Power and Credit, (by their Victories,) with the Emperour. Theſe Diſſentions and Emulations happend ſo ſeaſonably to the Roving Army of Theeves, as that to *come*; *to ſee*, *and conquer*, was to them one and the ſelf ſame thing, as I ſhall declare unto you.

Whileſt

Whileſt theſe tranſactions paſſed in the Court, *Licungzus* Conductor of the Theeves, having ſetled all things in the Country of *Xenſi*, paſſed to the Eaſt; and coming to the famous great River of *Croceus*, finding no body to defend it, he paſſed over with as much facility, as it might have been maintained with eaſe, if there had been placed but a handfull of Souldiers. For this River runnes with a violent rapid courſe, and a vaſt Sea of waters from Weſt to Eaſt; but being there was no man to defend it, they paſſing it eaſily, preſently ſeized upon the chief and richeſt City in all thoſe quarters, called *Kaiangcheu*, which is ſituated neer the South bankſide of that River; and being carried on with a ſtrong gale of Fortune, he ſeized upon many other Cities, every one deſiring either to free themſelves from further vexation, or blindly and fondly ſubmitting themſelves to any new change of Government. For we commonly delight in varieties and novelties, and hoping for better, we find worſe. Only the City of *Thaiyven* made ſome reſiſtance, but being preſently ſubdued, was fined with great ſumes of money for their temerity. The Emperour *Zungchinius* hearing the Theeves had paſſed the River *Croceus*, and were advanced to the very Confines of *Xenſi* (which borders upon the Province where he had placed his Throne and Royall Seat) he ſent an Army under the Lord Marſhal of *China*, to hold them at leaſt in play, if he could not overthrow them; But this Army did juſt nothing; nay moſt of the Souldiers ran to the Thieving party, in ſo much as the Lord Marſhal himſelf, called *Colaus Lius*, ſeeing Affairs grew ſo deſperate, Hang'd himſelf for fear of further ſhame and diſhonour. The Emperour hearing of the ill ſucceſſe of his Affairs, began to think of leaving the Northern parts, where his Royal City of *Peking* is ſituated, and to paſſe to *Nankuing* which is far more Southward; but he was diſſwaded from this intended courſe as well by his loyal, as diſloyal ſubjects: by theſe, that they might give him up more ſpeedily into the enemies hands, before their treachery was diſcovered; and by the others, leſt his flight might trouble the Kingdome more, and diſcourage all his Subjects from giving their beſt aſſiſtance; for they thought the City impregnable, being fortified with ſo ſtrong a Garriſon; nor did they doubt that the Kings preſence would draw the forces of the whole Kingdom to him. And their Counſel had been good, if the Court had been purged of Traytors.

The Theevs take the Province of *Xenſi*.

The Emperour of *China* is troubled,

In the mean time the Theeves Conductor, who was no leſſe quick and nimble in execution, than witty in invention, ſowing a Fox his tail to the Lions skin, cauſed many of his Souldiers in a diſguiſed habit to creep into that Princely City, and gave them money to trade in trifling ware, till he aſſaulted the walls with the body of his Army; for then they had order to raiſe ſedition, and tumult in the City; and, conſidering they were a Company of deſperate Fellows, and of a very low and baſe fortune, it is ſtupendious to think how they could keep ſo profound ſecrecy in a matter of ſo high concernment: But to this mine, which was prepared in the bowels of the City, he held a ſecret train of Intelligence, with the Lieutenant of the City; who ſeeing the Emperours Affairs deſperate, is ſaid to have dealt with the Conductor of theſe Brigants about giving up the City unto their power; But, however it was, theſe Pilferers came in a

The Stratagem of the Theef.

ſhort time to beſiege the Royal City of *Peking*. There was in that City a vaſt Garriſon, and as great a quantity of Artillery; but on the Quarters upon which the enemy made their aſſault, there was none charged with Bullets, but only with Powder.

The Royall City of *Peking* is taken.

Wherfore being ſecure from any annoy from that ſide, in the year MDCXLIV. before the riſing of the Sun, they entred the Metropolitan City of all *China* by one of the Gates which was opened to them; nor was there any long reſiſtance made, even by thoſe that were faithfull to their Prince; for the Souldiers of the Theef, which lay lurking in the City, made ſuch a tumult and confuſion, as none knew whom to oppoſe, in which reſpect they made a great ſlaughter, ſo as *Licungzus* in this Babylonian confuſion, marched victorious through the City, till he came to the very Emperours Palace; where though he found ſome reſiſtance from the faithfulleſt Eunuchs, yet notwithſtanding he preſently entred that famous and renowned Palace; And that which exceeds all admiration, the enemy had paſſed the firſt Wall, and Precinct, and yet the Emperour knew nothing of ſo ſtrange a paſſage; for the Traiterous Eunuchs, which were of moſt Authority, fearing he might eſcape by flight, deferd to admoniſh him of his own danger, or of the taking of the City, till they ſaw he could not poſſibly evade: Who hearing this dolefull news, firſt demanded if he could get away by any means; but when he heard that all paſſages were beſet, he is ſaid to have left a Letter writ with his own Blood, in which he bitterly expreſſed to all poſterity, the infidelity and perfidiouſneſſe of his Commanders, and the innocency of his poor Subjects; conjuring *Licungzus*, that ſeeing the Heavens had caſt the Scepter into his hands, he would, for his ſake, take revenge of ſuch perfidious Creatures. After this reflecting that he had a Daughter Marriageable, who falling into the villains hands might receive ſome affronts, he called for a Sword, and beheaded her with his own hands in the place; then going down into an Orchard, making a Rope of his Garter, he hung himſelf upon a Prune tree. Thus that unfortunate Emperour put a period, as well to that Empire, which had flouriſhed ſo long with much ſplendor, riches, and pleaſure, as to his Illuſtrious Family of *Taimingus*, by finiſhing his life upon ſo contemptible a Tree, and in ſuch an infamous manner: To all which circumſtances, I adde one more; that as the Empire was erected by a Theef, ſo it was extinguiſhed by another; for although others were choſen to ſucceed him, as we ſhall relate hereafter, yet becauſe they held a ſmal parcel of the Empire, they are not numbred amongſt the Emperours. His example was followed by the Queen, and by the Lord Marſhall, who is call'd in their language *Colaus*, together with other faithfull Eunuchs; So as thoſe pleaſant Trees which ſerved heretofore for their Sports and pleaſures, now became the horrid and fureſt Inſtruments of their death. And this cruell butchering of themſelves paſſed not only in the Court but alſo in the City, where many made themſelves away, either by hanging, or drowning by leaping into Lakes; For it is held by this Nation to be the higheſt point of fidelity, to die with their Prince, and not to live and be ſubject to another.

The Emperour having kild his Daughter hanged himſelf.

Whileſt theſe things were acting, *Licungzus* enters the Palace Victorious,

ous, and aſcending up to the Chair of State, ſate himſelf down in that Imperiall Throne; but it is recorded, that in executing this firſt Act of Royalty, he ſat ſo reſtleſly and unquietly, yea ſo totteringly, as if even then that Royal Chaire would foretel the ſhort durance of his felicity. The next day after, he commanded the body of the dead Emperour to be cut into ſmal pieces, accuſing him of oppreſſion and cruelty againſt his ſubjects; As if he, being a villanous Traitor, and a Theef, after the ſaccaging & burning ſo many Provinces, and ſhedding ſuch an Ocean of blood, had been of a better diſpoſition. So we often condemn others, when we do worſe our ſelves, and remark, yea augment, the leaſt faults of others, when we either take no notice of, or diminiſh our own. This Emperour *Zungchinius* was Father of three Sons, of which the eldeſt could never be found, though all imaginable means was uſed for his diſcovery; ſome think he found means to fly away; others think he periſhed by leaping with others into the Lake; the two others being yet little Children, were by the Tyrants command beheaded three days after; his barbarous humour not ſparing even innocent blood: Which diſpoſition he made further to appear, when caſting off that vail of Piety and Humanity, with which he had for ſometime charmed the people, he commanded all the Principal Magiſtrates to be apprehended, of which he murdered many with cruel torments, others he fined deeply, and reſerved the Imperiall Palace for his own aboad. He filled that moſt noble and rich City with ranſacking Souldiers, and gave it up to their prey and plunder; where they committed ſuch execrable things, as are both too long, and not fit to be related. But by this his horrid cruelty, and Tyranny, he loſt that Empire which he might have preſerved by courteſie and humanity.

The Theefs Tyranny and cruelty.

Amongſt the other impriſoned Magiſtrates, there was one a venerable perſon called *Us*, whoſe Son *Uſangueius* governed the Army of *China*, in the Confines of *Leaotung*, againſt the *Tartars*. The Tyrant *Licungzus* threatned this old man with a moſt cruel death, if by his paternall power over his Son, he did not reduce him with his whole Army, to ſubjection and obedience to his power; promiſing alſo great Rewards and Honours to them both, if by his fatherly power (which they hold ſacred) he did prevail for his ſubmiſſion. Wherefore the poor old man writ to his Son this enſuing Letter.

It is well known that the Heavens, Earth, and Fate can cauſe theſe ſtrange viciſſitudes of Fortune which we behold; know my Son, that the Emperour Zunchinius, *and the whole family of* Taimingus *are periſhed. The Heavens have caſt it upon* Licungzus; *we muſt obſerve the times, and by making a vertue of neceſſity, avoyd his Tyranny, and experience his liberality; he promiſeth to thee a Royal dignity, if with thy Army thou ſubmit to his Dominion, and acknowledge him as Emperour; my life depends upon thy anſwer; conſider what thou oweſt to him that gave thy life.*

To this Letter his Son *Uſangueius* returned this ſhort anſwer. *He that is not faithfull to his Soveraign, will never be faithful to me: and if you forget your duty and fidelity to our Emperour, no man will blame me if I forget my duty and obedience to ſuch a father. I will rather die than ſerve a Theef.*

The *Tartars* called into *China* against the Theeves.

And presently after the dispatch of this Letter, he sent an Embassador to the King of *Tartary*, desiring his help and force to subdue this Usurper of the Empire; and knowing that the *Tartars* abound in men, but want women, he promised to send him some store of them; and presented him with severall curious Silks, and sent him great store of Silver and Gold. The *Tartarian* King neglected not this good occasion, but presently marched with fourescore thousand men, which were in Garrison in *Leaotung*, to meet General *Usangueius*, to whom he expressed himself in these words. *To the end to make our Victory undoubted, I counsell you to cause all your Army to be clad like* Tartars, *for so the Theef will think us all* Tartars, *seeing I cannot call greater Forces out of my Kingdome so soon as is required.*

The Theeves fly from the *Tartars.*

Usangueius, thirsting nothing but revenge, admitted all conditions, little thinking (as the *Chinesses* say) that he brought in *Tigres* to drive out Dogs. *Licungzus* hearing the march of the *Tartars*, together with *Usangueius*, knowing himself not able to resist, quitted the Court and Palace as easily as he had taken it: but he carried with him all the rich spoyls of the Court, and marched away into the Province of *Xensi*, where he establisht his Court in the noble City of *Sigan*, which heretofore had been the seat of the Emperours. It is accounted that for eight daies space by the four Palace gates, there was nothing seen but a continuall succession of Coaches, Horses, Camels, and Porters, carrying away the preciousest treasures; though they left also much, because the enemy approached.

They carry away the Treasures of the Palace.

Thus the immense Riches of Gold and Silver, which the Emperours of the *Taimingean* Family had at leasure hoorded up, in the space of two hundred and fourscore years, were in a moment dispersed. But although they fled very speedily, yet they could not avoid the swift Tartarian Horses; for overtaking their Luggage, and the Rear of the Army, they pillaged and vexed them for eight daies; but yet they either could not, or would not passe the River *Croceus*, that so they might speedily returne to amuse the trembling hearts of the Territory of *Peking*. The *Tartars* returne therefore victorious and rich into the City *Peking*, and there being admitted by the *Chinesses*, they gave them the Empire. Where it is to be observed, that although *Zungteus*, the *Tartarian* King, dying at the first entrance into *China*, did not obtain that noble Empire he so much thirsted after; yet he gave those Instructions, of the manner of conquering it, to his Councel, that they never desisted till they obtained it. This Prince dying, declared his Son of six years old, his Successor; commanding all his own Brethren to manage the Childs Affairs with all fidelity and circumspection, making his eldest brother his Tutor; and all those brethren, being uncles to the Child, by a stupendious union, and never to be parallel'd in any ambitious Nation, exalted this Infant to the possession of the Empire.

Zungteus King of the *Tartars* dyes.

These things being thus passed, *Usangueius*, seeing the Thief expelled, began to think of creating a new Emperour, one of the *Taiminga's* Family, who was a Prince not far distant: But first being mindfull of his promises made to the *Tartars*, he offers them their rewards; he highly extols their Fortitude and Fidelity in the Kingdomes quarrel; and finally, desires them now to depart the Country quietly, and to entertain a strict alliance

The *Tartars* refuse to depart *China.*

and

and friendſhip with it, ſeeing they had abundantly revenged all former injuries. To this demand the *Tartars* returned a long premeditated anſwer, but far contrary to what *Uſangueius* expected, which they delivered in theſe tearms.

We do not think it yet a fit time to leave you and this Empire, unleſs, having heard our Reaſons, you ſhall ſtill preſſe it; for we conſider, that many of the Theeves are ſtill extant, and ſeem rather diſperſed than extinguiſhed; and we hear that their great Conductor Licungzus, *hath fixed his Imperial Seat in* Sigan, *the Metropolis of the Province of* Xenſi; *by which means he ſtill poſſeſſeth the richeſt and moſt populous Provinces, which are ſtill under his Dominion. If we depart, worſe is to be feared will follow: He feared us* Tartars; *when he hears we are gone, having now time to recruit his Forces, he will doubtleſſe make new Invaſions, and perchance we ſhall not be able to ſend new Succours: We therfore reſolve to proſecute the Victory, and quite extinguiſh thoſe Vagabonds, that ſo you may deliver the Empire to your deſigned King, in full peace and tranquility. Be not ſolicitous of paying our promiſed rewards, for they are as ſafe in yours, as in our own, hands. That which we now deſire to execute, is, that which preſſeth moſt, and ſeems to us to require no delay; that you, with part of your Army and part of ours, march ſpeedily againſt* Licungzus, *and we with the reſt, take our march towards the Province of* Xantung, *to extirpate thoſe Theeves that have ſetled there; By this means the peace of the Kingdome will be firmly eſtabliſhed.*

Their Craft and Deceit.

Uſangueius either did not underſtand the Stratagem, or if he did, he condeſcended not to irritate an Army which was in the Bowells of the Kingdom.

Before the *Tartars* (which were called) entred *China*, they ſent into their own and other Kingdoms to raiſe as many men as poſſibly they could, to the end they might conquer the Empire after they had acquitted themſelves of their promiſed aſſiſtance againſt the Theeves. But theſe Succours, not being arrived to re-inforce them, therefore they thought it beſt as yet to uſe no force, but gain time by fair words and new projects. But whilſt this buſineſſe was contriving, there came an immenſe company of *Tartars* into the Empire; not only from the Kingdoms of *Niuche*, and *Niulham*, but alſo from the old Occidental *Tartary*, and from a Country called *Yupi*, which is more Oriental, and lyes above the elevation of *Japon*. This people is called *Yupi*, by reaſon they make their Coats of defence, or Breaſt plates, of fiſhes skin, which are in a maner impregnable. Nay, which is more, I ſaw very many who were come as far as the River *Volga*; which people theſe *Tartars* call *Alga-Tartars*, and I find they have a Notion of *Muſcovy*, and *Polan*; but they are far more barbarous than the Oriental *Tartars* be; with theſe auxiliary Forces, came in the infant King of ſix years old, Son to the late deceaſed King of *Tartary*; and when theſe were joyned with the body of the Army, then they publickly proclaimed their right to the Empire, and openly declared their concealed intentions; and proclaimed this child of ſix years old, Emperour of *China*, by the name of *Xunchi*; and the new erected Imperial Family they ſtiled by the name of *Taicing*. The Child of ſix years old took poſſeſſion of the ancient Throne of his Forefathers, with a great Gravity and Majeſty, from whence he delivered this judicious Speech to the Commanders and to his Army.

A great company of *Tartars* enter *China*.

The *Tartars* ſeiſe upon the Empire of *China*.

Xunchi is crowned the firſt Emperour of the *Tartars* in *China*.

It

It is your ſtrength and power more than my felicity (my dear and generous Uncles, & you the reſt of my noble Commanders) which ſupports my weakneſſe, and makes me ſo undantedly aſcend and poſſeſs this Imperial Throne. My preſent aſſurance and this Chairs ſtability, I hope, is as happy a ſign of my future proſperity, as its tottering proved unfortunate to the Thief Licungzus *his Tyrannie. You ſee my firſt ſtep to the Empire; But I know your valour to be ſuch, that I look not only upon the Kingdom of* China *as my own, but conceive the Empire of the World, not only by me poſſeſſed, but alſo eſtabliſhed. The rewards due to ſuch incomparable Vertues, ſhall be no other than the riches of the Empire, and Royall dignities; proceed therefore valiantly and ſtoutly.* The whole Court was aſtoniſhed to hear a Child of ſix years old ſpeak ſuch things, and hence concluded, that fate or Heaven had elected him for King; the young Prince did aſſume his eldeſt Uncle, as his Tutor and Father, the ſame day he was admitted to the Empire: and therefore the *Tartars* in their language, called him *Amahan*, as much as to ſay, the Father King; which very thing, the *China's* expreſs by the word *Amavang*. To this man therefore he remitted all the Conduct of his Wars, and to him it is, the *Tartars* owe all their greatneſſe and Dominion: for as he excelled in Counſel and Prudence, ſo alſo he was as eminent in fortitude and fidelity; and withall, by the ſtrength and force of his Reaſons and Counſels did raviſh the wiſeſt men amongſt the *Chineſes*; and his Juſtice and Humanity did wholly enthrall and enchant the popularity. To all which I adde thoſe fugitive Magiſtrates, who, as I related heretofore, had fled to the *Tartars* (to avoid the Emperours indignation) and did not a little promote their cauſe; for theſe men, ſometimes by word and example, did ſeduce the hearts of the Subjects, and ſometimes ſuggeſted excellent Counſels to the *Tartars*, againſt their own Country; and by both theſe means advanced themſelves to high and eminent dignities amongſt the *Tartars*.

The fidelity of the Kings Tutor called *Amavangus.*

The ſame day ſome Bands of Souldiers were diſpatched, with order to proclame *Uſangueius* a Tributary King to this new enſtalled Emperour; which they performed with great magnificence, adding to his name (as uſually they do) the Sirname of *Pingſi*, which ſounds as much as *Pacifier of the Weſtern world*: eſtabliſhing his Kingdom in the Capital City in the Province of *Xenſi*. This Prince conſidering, that he could expect no more honourable Dignity from the lawfull Succeſſour to the Empire of *China*; and that the *Tartars* were come into the Empire, in ſo vaſt a number, that he could never hope to Conquer them, found means to diſpence with his hitherto uncorrupted fidelity, admitting the dignity, and ſubmitting to the Emperour, and ſo he that had hitherto waged War for *China* againſt the Theeves, now was forced to march againſt *China* to ſubdue its Provinces to the *Tartarian* Empire. And as he was a Great Commander, ſo alſo by the help of the *Tartars* he quickly drove out the Theeves from his little Kingdom of *Xenſi*, where to this day he reigneth in the Metropolitan City of *Sigan*. But by theſe honours the *Tartars* removed him from the practice of Arms, who remaining Armed, might have proved a dangerous Enemy.

Uſangueius forced to ſerve the *Tartars.*

It was hitherto never known what became of *Licungzus*; ſome think he was killed by *Uſangueius* in the fight; though he never appeared more, neither

It is not known what became of *Licungzus.*

ther dead, nor alive, after this fight, in which all his forces were diſſipated, or cut off. And with the ſame facility the *Tartars* ſubdued the Provinces of *Peking* and *Xantung*; where they immenſly augmented their Armies, by the acceſſe of the *China's* Souldiers and Commanders which ſubmitted to them; for the *Tartarians* admitted all, even the Conquered, to their Army, if they did cut their hair, and wear their habits after the *Tartarian* faſhion: for in this Puntillio of habit and hair they were ſo rigorous, as they proclamed it high Treaſon in all that did forbear it. Which Law, did many times endanger them, and diſturb the whole frame of their Affairs: For the *Chineſſes* both grieved, and fought more valiantly for their hair and habit, than for their Kingdom and Emperour; So as many times they choſe rather to die, or loſe their heads, than obey the *Tartars* in theſe Ceremonies; of which I could relate many examples, unleſſe in this relation I had reſolved to be brief. But all theſe little rubs, did not hinder, but that in leſſe than the ſpace of a year, (not counting *Leaotung*) they had conquered *Peking*, *Xanſi*, *Xenſi*, and *Xantung*, which are the four vaſt Northern Provinces of *China*. In all which they changed nothing in their Political manner of Government, nay, they permitted the uſual cuſtom of the Philoſophers of *China* to govern the Towns and Provinces; they left alſo the ſame Examens as were uſed for the approving of learned men; for by this prudent Counſel they wrought this effect, that having given the places of honour and truſt to men of their own Creation, they found they ſurpaſſed the very *Tartars* in fidelity to them: yet they kept the *Militia* in their own hands, and the ordering thereof, and yet they ſtick'd not to admit even to theſe Offices, ſuch of the Country as were faithfull to them; ſo, as in the Royal City they retained ſtill the ſame Orders and degrees of Prefects, together with the ſix high Tribunals, as they were eſtabliſhed in the former Emperours time: but ſo, as they were now compounded of *Chineſſes*, and *Tartars*.

The *Tartars* ſubdue ſeveral Provinces.

They changed no Laws of the Nation.

In the mean time the news of the Emperours danger came to the Southern parts of *China*, and the Prefects of every City gathering together very great forces marched towards the City of *Peking*, but in their march they received the ſad news of the Emperours death, and the taking of *Peking*; they therefore ſpeedily called back their Forces, and alſo all their Ships, which yearly uſed to carry Proviſions to the Emperours Court; a little after this, they received the news how the *Tartar* was inveſted in the Kingdom and proclaimed Emperour. I was then my ſelfe in the great City *Nanquin*, where I beheld a ſtrange conſternation and confuſion in all things, till at length having recollected themſelves, the Prefects reſolved to chooſe an Emperour of the Family of the *Taiminges*, whom they called *Hungquangus*. This man had come hither (flying from the Theeves) out of the Province of *Honan*, and being he was Nephew to that famous Emperour *Vanley*, & coſin Germain to *Zungchinius* the laſt deceaſed Emperour, they Crowned him with great pomp and oſtentation, hoping for better fortune under his Government. As ſoon as this Prince was choſen, he ſent an Embaſſage to the *Tartars*, begging Peace, rather than demanding it; for he offered them all the Northern Provinces which they had taken; if they would joyn in amity with him. But the *Tartars* well underſtood the Policy

Hungquangus Crowned Emperour in *Hanquin*.

of

of these Prefects and Counsellours; which was only to amuse them with a Peace, whilst they could recover their strength and force; And therefore they returned answer, that they would not receive as a gift, that which they had conquered by force of Arms; but seeing they had chosen a new Emperour, they might do well to defend him; but as for them, they were resolved to have all or nothing. This Legacy comming to nothing; whilst both parties prepare to take the Field, appears at *Nankuing* a young man, who gave himselfe out to be the eldest Son to the late deceased Emperour *Zunchinius*; and he gave no small evidences of this truth and Claime; nay, he was acknowledged by many of the Eunuchs. But the new elected Emperour *Hunquangus*, being strongly possessed with an ambition of raigning, would never acknowledge, nor admit him; but commanded him to be imprisoned, and killed, as an Impostor; though many of the Prefects enraged to hear of this order, hindered the execution of the sentence. But by this accident, things grew into a sedition, and the dispute was so high, that it gave occasion to the *Tartars* of assailing the Province and City of *Nankuing*; some of the Prefects winking at it, if not enticing them underhand to this exploit. The *Tartars*, vigilant to lay hold of all advantages, hearing of these emulations & divisions, presently march out into the Territory of the City of *Hoaigan*, and comming to the East side of the River *Croceus*, they passe over speedily by the help of their Boats; on the other side of this River stood the Army of *China*, which was so numerous, as if they had but cast off their very shoos, they had erected such a Rampart against the *Tartars*, as all the Horse would hardly have surmounted it. But it is the resolution and valour in War, that carries the Trophies, not the number of men: for hardly had the *Tartars* set foot in their Boats, but the *Chineses* ran all away, as Sheep use to do when they see the Wolf, leaving the whole shore unfenced, to their landing. The *Tartars* having passed the River, finding no enemy to resist, enter the most noble Province of *Nanking*, and in a trice make themselves Masters of all the North part of the Country, which lies upon the great River of *Kiang*, which is so vast, as it is worthily called the Son of the Sea; where it deserves particularly to be noted as a rare thing in the Warfare of the *Tartars*, that before they enter into any Country, they chuse and name both the Governours, and Companies, with all the Officers necessary for all the Cities and places which they aym to take; so as in a moment they run like a lightning, and no sooner they possesse it but it is fortified, armed, and defended. There was one City in these Quarters which made a generous resistance to all their re-iterated assaults, called *Yangcheu*, where the *Tartars* lost the Son of a little Royalet. This City was defended by that faithful Imperial Champion called *Zuuis Colaus*; but though he had a mightie Garrison, yet he was at length forced to yield, and the whole City was sacked, and both Citizen and Souldier put to the Sword; and least the multitude of the dead Carcases, should corrupt the Air, and ingender the Plague, they laid them all upon the tops of the Houses, and setting fire both to the City and Suburbs brought all to ashes, and to a total desolation.

By this progresse the Forces of the *Tartar* much encreased; for the Governours of many places, & several Regiments came to submit to his Dominion,

The *Tartars* admit no Peace

Zunchinius his Son appears at *Nankuing*.

He causes troubles in *China*,

The flight of the *Chineses*.

The City *Yangcheu* resisting the *Tartar* is taken and burnt.

The *Tartars* take several places.

minion. To all whom he, commonly, continued the same Commands and Offices they were established in before, and advanced many of them to higher dignity; and so by this Humanitie with which he treated all that came flying to him, and by the crueltie he used to those that resolved to make resistance to the Force of his Arms, he gained this, that most men resolved to partake of his sweet treatie, rather than of his cruelty: so he easily conquered all that which lies on the North side of that River, which I named before the Son of the Sea. This River being a *German* League in breadth, and rising from the West of *China*, holds its course to the East, and divides the Kingdom into Northern and Southern Quarters; it also divides the Country of *Nanking* in the very middle; though *Nanking* the Metropolitan and Royal City be placed in the Southern part. To Master this great Citie, they were to passe this River. They gathered therefore together many Ships, to Conquer this new Emperial seat, and also the new settled Emperour. The Fleet of *China* commanded by the most generous and faithfull Admiral called *Hoangchoangus*, lay towards the other side of this River. Here the Admiral fought so gallantly and resolutely, that he made it appear to the world, that the *Tartars* were not invincible; Till at length one of his own Commanders called *Thienus* born in the Citie of *Leaotung*, being corrupted by the *Tartars*, shot him with an Arrow to death: which Arrow fixed the unconstant wheel of *Chinas* fortune, and lost the whole Empire. But the Traitor, not contented with this perfidious Act, began himself to run away, and by his example drew all the rest to imitate this Ignominious Action. His impudence passed yet to a higher strain: for comming to the Imperial Citie, and finding the Emperour preparing to retire, he joyned himselfe with him, as a faithfull friend, participating of his adversity; till he saw the *Tartars* (who passing the River followed the Kings flight with all imaginable diligence) were come near him, & then he took the Emperour Prisoner, and delivered him to the *Tartarian* Army in the year MDCXLIV. This unfortunate Prince being thus betrayed before he had raigned full one year, was sent to *Peking*, and there upon the Town Walls was hanged publickly in a Bow string, which kind of death the *Tartars* esteem most noble. The pretended Son to the Emperour *Zunchinius*, (whether he were true or false,) run the same course of fortune, when they had discovered him being kept still in Prison: for they did not onely put to death all those which belonged to the Imperial Family of the *Taiminges* by Consanguinitie, but after a diligent search extirpated all they could find, which belonged to them even by Affinitie; for it is a custom in *Asia*, if any one conquer a Kingdom, to root out all that belong to the Royal Family.

The Emperour *Hunquangus* is taken and killed.

After this, they divided their Army into two parts; the one they sent to conquer the Mediterranean Provinces of *Kianſi*, *Huquang*, & *Quangtung*, which are all of a marvellous extent; the other, like a swift Torrent, over-run all, till they came to the very Walls of the renowned and vast City of *Hangcheu*, which is the head City of the Province of *Chekiang*. Into this City the principal fugitives of the Army of *China* were retired; and those not only of the common Souldiers, but many great Commanders, and Prefects; where they resolved to chuse a new Emperour called *Lovangus*,

The *Tartars* run to the City *Hangcheu*.

gus, of the ancient Family of *Taimingus*: But this Prince would never assume the Title of Emperour, but contented himself with the Title of King, thinking his fall would be lesse, and his death not so bitter, as if he fell from the Throne of an Emperour: but yet to the end to animate them to fight with more vigour than they had done heretofore, he promised them to take that Title when they had re-gained one Imperial City. He had not reigned three dayes (a shorter space than their personated Kings use many times to reign in their Tragedies) but the *Tartars* arrive; Which the fugitive Souldiers seeing, & thinking by this pinch of necessity to force their pay from the King and City, refused to fight before they had received their salary. It was on this occasion, that King *Lovangus* his heart, being not able to bear such a desolation of the City, of his people and subjects, as he foresaw, gave such an example of his Humanity and Piety, as *Europe* never saw; for he mounted upon the City Walls, and calling upon his Knees to the *Tartarian* Captains, begged the life of his Subjects. *Spare not me* (quoth he) *I wil willingly be my Subjects victime*; & having said this, he presently went out to the *Tartars* Army, and was taken. This Illustrious testimony of his love to his Subjects had not wanted a reward to Crown so Heroick an Action, if it had met with a generous Soul, like that of *Alexander* or of *Cæsar*. When they had the King Prisoner, they commanded the Citizens to shut the Gates, and keep the Walls, least either their own, or the Kings Souldiers should enter the City; and presently they fell upon the Kings men, whom they butchered in a most cruel manner, but yet the water destroyed more, than their Swords or Arrows; for many cast themselves headlong into the great River of *Cianthang*, which is a League broad, and runs neer the City; others leaping and overcharging the Boats in the River were presently sunck; others flying away full of fear and confusion, thrust one another at the River side into that unmerciful Element; and by all these many thousands perished. The *Tartars* wanting boats to passe this River, having thus expelled or killed the Souldiery, they returned Triumphant to the City, where they used neither force, nor violence; by which means this noble City was conserved, whose beauty, greatnesse, and riches, I hope to describe elsewhere, not by hear-say, but by what I saw, in the three years space I lived in it, from which I lately came into *Europe*. This City of *Hangcheu* hath an Artificial Channel or Dike to pass by water to the Northern parts of *China*; This Chanel is onely separated by the high part of the way like a Causeway from the River, which as I said, runs on the South part of the City. The *Tartars* therefore drew many Boats out of this Chanel over the Causeway into the River *Cienthang*, and with the help of these Boats they passed the River without resistance, and found the faireſt City in all *China*, called *Xaoking*, prone enough to submit to their victorious Armes. This City in bigneſſe yields to many others, but in cleanneſſe and comlineſſe it surpasses all: it is so invironed with sweet waters as a man may contemplate its beauty by rounding it in a Boat; it hath large and fair Streets paved on both sides with white square stones, and in the middle of them all runs a Navigable Chanel, whose sides are garnished with the like ornament, and of the same stone there are also built many fairs Bridges

King *Lovingus* love to his Subjects.

Many of the Kings Souldiers drowned.

Hangcheu is taken.

Bridges and Triumphant Arches; the Houſes alſo, (which I obſerve no where elſe in *China*) are built of the ſame ſquare ſtone; ſo as, in a word, I ſaw nothing neater in all *China*. They took this Town without any reſiſtance, and ſo they might have done all the reſt of the Southern Towns of this Povince of *Chekiang*. But when they commanded all by Proclamation to cut off their Hair, then both Souldier and Citizen took up Armes, and fought more deſperately for their Hair of their Heads, than they did for King or Kingdome, and beat the *Tartars* not only out of their City, but repulſt them to the River *Cienthang*: nay forced them to paſſe the River, killing very many of them. In truth, had they paſt the River, they might have recovered the Metropolis with the other Towns: But they purſued their victory no further, being ſufficiently contented that they had preſerved their Hair, reſiſting them only on the South ſide of the ſhore, and there fortifying themſelves. By this means the conquering Armes of the *Tartars* were repreſſed for a whole year. But the *Chinois* that they might have a Head, choſe *Lu Regulus* of the *Taimingian* Family for their Emperour; who would not accept therof, but would be only ſtiled, The Reſtorer of the Empire. In the mean time the *Tartars* had ſent for new forces out of *Peking*, with which they left nere a Stone unturned, that they might get over the River *Cienthang*: but all was in vain. The drooping affairs therfore of the *Chinois* now breathed again, nay, having gathered together more Forces, they promiſed themſelves greater victories. But the ambition and emulation of ruling fruſtrated all their hopes. For the Commanders, and Preſidents which fled out of the Province of *Chekian* into the Country of *Fokien*, carried with them one of *Taiminga's* Family, called *Thangus*; and this man they choſe King in the Country of *Fokien*, which confines with *Chekiang*. This Prince pretended that the King called *Lu*, ſhould yeeld up his right to him, both becauſe he had but a few Cities under him, and alſo becauſe he was further removed from the Imperial Race, than he was. But King *Lu*, pretended he was Proclaimed by the Army, before him, and failed not to ſet forth his victories over the *Tartars*. By which two contentions, the *Tartars* kept the Crown; for theſe two Royalets, would never yeeld to one another, nor ſo unite their Armies, as joyntly to repreſſe the *Tartars*. Since therefore this petty King *Lu* had onely eight Cities under his command, whoſe Contributions were not able to maintain the neceſſary pay of his Army, he never durſt venture to paſſe over the River, but endeavoured only to defend himſelf. But the *Tartars* ſought all means poſſibly to get over this River, yet they durſt not venture to paſſe in Boats, becauſe King *Lu* had many ſhips, and good ſtore of Artillery which he had cauſed to be brought from Sea. But the *Tartars* felicity, and proſperous fortune, overcame this difficulty: for, as it happened, that year being dryer than ordinary, this River towards the South, where it runs betwixt high Mountains, and is deprived of the flowing of the Sea, had loſt much of its depth; and here the *Tartars* Horſe found it paſſable; and becauſe the rudeneſſe of thoſe Mountains, ſeemed a ſufficient Guard to the Country, they found no Souldiers to reſiſt; but as ſoon as the Clowns eſpied twenty of their Horſe to have paſſed the River, they preſently advertiſed

The *Chineſes* defend their Hair.

The *Tartars* paſſe the River, and recover the City *Xaoking*.

the Army, and they all betook themselves to flight. King *Lu* himself left the City *Xaoking*, and not daring to trust himself to the Continent, he took Ship and sailed to the Island called *Cheuxan*, which lies opposit to the Citie of *Nimpus*; where he remains to this day safe, and keeps still his Regal dignitie; which Island being heretofore only a retreit for Fishermen, and some Clowns, now is become a potent Kingdom; by reason that many fly from *China* to this King *Lu*, as to their sanctuary to conserve the libertie of their Hair. In this Island there are now found threescore and ten Cities, with a strong and formidable Army, which hitherto hath contemned all the *Tartarian* Power and Forces, and watch for some happy occasion to advance again their Kingdom in *China*. But by this means, the *Tartars* took all the Cities and Towns of the County of *Chekiang* into their Dominion. One only City of *Kinhoa*, whose President was aswel a Native of the place, as also the Commander in chief, and my very singular friend, sustained the *Tartars* assaults for some months. But to the end the resistance of this City should not be a hindrance to the course of their Victories, the *Tartars* divided their Army into three parts. The first part marched by the City *Kiucheu*, and the Mountains; the second by the City *Vencheu*, and the Sea shore, into the Province of *Fokien*; and the third obstinately besieged the City of *Kinhoa*. At which time I by leave from the Emperour *Longuvus*, resided in *Henxus* a City subject to that of *Vencheu*, which presently after was besieged, and taken by the *Tartars*, together with many other neighbouring Cities. I dwelt in a very fair house of the City *Venxus*, the whole Town then being in a tumult by reason of the feare and flight of most of the Citizens. Assoone as I understood of the approach of the *Tartars*, I fixed over the faireſt gate of the house, a red paper very long and broad, with this Inscription upon it. *Here dwells the European Doctor of the Divine Law.* For I had observed the *China* Governours when they take any journy to affixe such Inscriptions upon the houses where they happen to lodge, that all men may take notice what great persons are there. Likewise at the entrance of the greater Hall, I set out my greatest and faireſt-bound books: to these I added my Mathematicall Instruments, prospectives, and other optick glasses, and what else I thought might make the greatest show; and withall I placed the picture of our Saviour upon an altar erected for that purpose. By which fortunate stratagem I not ont only escaped the violence and plunder of the common Souldier, but was invited, and kindly entertained by the *Tartarian* Vice-Roy: Who demanded of me whether I would with a good will change my *China*-habit, and cut off my hair. To which I readily consented; and so he commanded me to be shaven there in his presence; and I telling him, that a shaven head would not so well suite with a *China*-Garment, he pluk't off his own boots, and made me draw them on, put his *Tartar* bonnet on my head, feasted me at his Table, and accommodating me with his Passe, dismissed me to my ancient quarters in the noble City *Hancheu*, where we had a stately Church and Colledge: In the siege of *Kinhoa*, the *Tartars* by reason of great Guns which continually plaid upon them, and by the wise conduct and courage of their noble Commander, suffered many and great losses; insomuch as he forced them to pitch their

The Island of *Cheuxan* becomes a Kingdom.

The City of *Kinhoa* is taken and destroyed.

their Camp further from the City; But at length they alſo brought Artillery from the chief City of the Province, by which they made ſo many breaches in the Walls, as theſe being in a manner diſmantled, they found entrance; and burned and ſacked it with all imaginable Hoſtility. The Governour blew up himſelf and all his Family with a Barrel of Gunpowder in his own Pallace, leaſt he, or his, ſhould fall into the Enemies hands.

The Province of *Fokien* is invironed with the bordering Countries of *Quamgtung*, *Kianſi*, and *Chekiang*; from all which it is ſeparated by a continuall Chain of Mountains which are in breadth of three dayes journey to paſſe over; and withall, ſo full of ragged and ruggy Clifts, and obſcure Vallies, as they make the very Paths horrid, dark and obſcure at Noon day. Inſomuch, as without any exaggeration, they may well be paralelled either to the Grecian Straits of *Thermopolis*, or to the *Aſian* ruggy and ſtrait paſſage of *Taurus*. Theſe places might have been eaſily defended if they had but placed a few Clowns, to repel the Enemy, or croſſed the wayes by any incumbrances; but the very imagination of a *Tartar* was grown ſo terrible to them, as they fled at the very ſight of their Horſes; leaving therefore theſe Mountains wholly ungarniſhed, the *Tartars* found a paſſage, but ſo very painful, and full of difficulties, as they were forced to leave much of their Baggage behind them; and loſt many of their Horſes, in thoſe fearfull precipices; but by this meanes they took the Province of *Fokien* with as much eaſe, as it might have been defended; for they hardly ſpent as much time in taking it as a man would doe to walk the extent of it. The King himſelf named *Lunguus* (which ſignifieth a Warlike Dragon) ſhewed himſelf a fearful Sheep, flying away with a good Army of men, if that word rightly can be applyed to a numerous multitude that had no hearts; but his flight ſerved him for nothing; for the *Tartars* following him with their ſwift and nimble Horſes, ſhot all this flock of ſilly Sheep to death with Arrows. It is thought the King himſelf was involved in this Maſſacre, for he never appeared, nor was heard of afterwards.

The *Tartars* take in *Fokien* very eaſily.

King *Lunguus* ſlain.

Now becauſe the whole Province ſubmitted it ſelf voluntarily unto them without any reſiſtance, it did not only ſuffer little from the *Tartars*, but they had many choiſe and ſelect Souldiers out of it; and having thus again recruited their Army, they made another irruption into the Countrie of *Quamgtung*; and its worth remarking, that the other *Tartarian* Commander, who, when the Army was divided (as I related before,) had order to ſubdue the Mediterranean Countries, with the ſame felicity and expedition paſſing victorious through the Provinces of *Huquang* and *Kiangſi*, entred alſo on one ſide of this Countrie of *Quamgtung*, whilſt the other came in by *Fokien* upon the other ſide; and becauſe the Town of *Nankiung* reſolved to fight it out, they conſumed it all, by fire and ſword. So the poor Country of *Quamgtung* oppreſſed by a double victorious Army, was quickly over-run & ſubdued. After this, one of theſe victorious Armies, enriched with all the rarities of *China*, was called back to *Peking*, but yet they left a Garriſon in every City, aſſigning in the name of the King of *Tartars* both Civil and Martial Officers, for the Countries Government.

The Provinces of *Quamgtung* is taken.

The

The happie ſucceſſe in taking the impregnable Province of *Fokien*, is attributed by wiſe men, (to whoſe judgement I alſo ſubmit) to a more remote and hidden cauſe, which I will briefly relate. There was at this time a famous and renowned Pyrat called *Chinchilungus*; this man was born in the Province of *Fokien*, of which we are treating; he firſt ſerved the *Portugheſe* in *Macao*; then he ſerved the Hollander in the Iſland called *Formoſa*, where he was known to all ſtrangers by the name of *Iquon*. After this he became a Pyrat, but being of quick and nimble wit, he grew from this ſmall and ſlender fortune, to ſuch a height and power, as he was held either Superiour or equal to the Emperour of *China*; for he had the Trade of *India* in his hand; and he dealt with the *Portugeſe* in *Macao*; with the Spaniards in the *Phillippins*; with the Hollanders in the Iſland *Formoſa*, and new *Holland*; with the *Japonians*, and with all the Kings and Princes of the Eaſtern parts in all manner of rich commodities. He permitted none to tranſport the Wares of *China* but himſelf or his, to whom he brought back the riches and the Silver of *Europe* and *Indies*; for after he once rather extorted, than obtained pardon of the King of *China* for his Pyracies, he became ſo formidable, as that he had no leſſe than three thouſand Ships of which he was Lord and Maſter. Nor was he contented with this fortune, but aſpired privately to no leſſe than to the Empire; But becauſe he knew he never ſhould be accepted of the Prefects and people, as long as there was any of the Imperial Family of the *Taiminges* alive, he hoped by the *Tartars* means to extinguiſh them wholly, and after this was done, then he reſolved to diſplay his Banners and Enſigns in ſo pious a cauſe, as the driving out the common Enemy from the bowels of the Kingdom; and no doubt but under this pretext, they would all have followed, helped and even adored him, as their Saviour. It was therefore evident that he had ſecret correſpondence with the *Tartars*; and that he favoured them for his own profit; And that which made the buſineſſe more ſuſpicious was, that at that time when the *Tartars* made their irruption into *Fokien*, he was then declared Lord Marſhal of the Kingdom, and all the Generals, Commanders and Souldiers, were either of his affinity, or wholly at his Command and Obedience. And therefore it is no wonder, if the *Tartars* found an eaſie admittance into the Country of *Fokien*; of which they preſently made him King *Pingnan*, (as much as to ſay; *Pacifier of the South*) and they added many other Dignities, and Offices of truſt, that they might more ſpeciouſly illude him; for either they knew his aſpiring mind, or elſe his great power and authoritie was ſuſpicious and formidable to them; but yet all the while that the General of the *Tartars* remained in *Fokien*, they never expreſſed the leaſt diffidence in him, but both with favours, courteſies, preſents and honours, they ſtudied how further to ingage him, and promiſed him the Government of many more Provinces. He made himſelf therefore ſecure of the Government of all the Southern Provinces; but all happened quite contrary to his expectation; for when this General of the *Tartars*, who was obſerved as a little King, was to depart to *Peking*, the cuſtom was for all the Officers of the Kingdom to conduct him, for ſome part of his journy, to give him an honourable farewell; which laſt duty of Civility, *Iquon* could not handſomely avoid, nor indeed, had he any reaſon to

A famous Pyrate in *China*.

The *Tartars* deceive the Pyrat, and take him priſoner by meer Art.

to be diffident in him; ſo as he left his Navie in the Port of *Focheu*, and accompanied the Royolet with great ſplendor and magnificence. But when he came to take leave, and demand Licence to return, the General of the *Tartars*, invited him a long to *Peking*, where he promiſed him yet greater honours from the Kings own perſon, to reward his Merits. He endeavoured by all imaginable impediments, to excuſe this journey, but nothing was accepted, he was forced, by their kindneſſe, to accompany them to *Peking*; and ſo he was taken by Art, who by Arms ſeemed Inſuperable. He is yet detained in Priſon in *Peking*, becauſe his Brothers and Kindred hearing of his Captivitie, preſently ſeazed on the Fleet; with which they have much infeſted *China*, as we ſhall touch hereafter.

The *Tartars* overthrow *Quangſi*.

In the mean time the other Army which had paſſed the Mediterranean Provinces of *Huquang*, *Kianſi*, and *Quamgtung*, invaded the Country of *Quangſi*. But here it was that the Arms of the *Tartars* which hitherto were held invincible, were ſhewed to be weak, & where they leaſt expected oppoſition, there they found a ſtop to their conqueſts. It happened that in this Province of *Quangſi* the Vice-Roy, called *Khiu Thomas*, was a Chriſtian; and alſo all the *Militia* of that Country was commanded by *Ching Lucas*, whoſe family for five Generations has ſerved the Emperours of *China*, with as much conſtancy and fidelity, as they did Chriſt. Theſe two having gathered many together, which fled from all parts into *Quangſi*, after the *Tartars* had taken many places in the Country, overthrew the *Tartarians* in a ſet Battail; and paſſing into the confining Province of *Quamgtung*, they recovered all the Weſtern part of it. After this, that they might have a head to fight for, and who might command and govern them in all Occurrences, and withall, to draw the minds and hands of the *Chineſes* to the common defence of the Country, knowing that in the City of *Queilin*, which is the head City of *Quangſi*, there was one of the *Taiminges* Family living, who was Nephew to the Great *Vanleius*, they elected him Emperour, and called by the name of *Jungley*. This Prince fixed his Imperial ſeat in the noble City of *Chatking* in the Province of *Quamgtung*, and hitherto has fought ſeveral times with the *Tartars*, with good ſucceſſe. And in this Princes Court, the chief Eunuch called *Pang Achilleus*, is the greateſt favourite, and a great Servant of Chriſt, whom he hath long profeſſed ſincerely to worſhip, both by word and deed; for, to propagate Chriſtianitie, he has ever maintained a miſſion of Jeſuites about him, by whoſe painfull endeavours many have embraced the Faith of Chriſt; And amongſt others the very Mother of this Emperour, his Wife, and his eldeſt Son, Heir of the Empire, called *Conſtantin*, did all imbrace Chriſtianity. May this Man by the praiers of all Chriſtians prove another *Conſtantine* to the Empire of *China*. The Emperour himſelf is not averſe from Chriſtianitie, but hitherto he hath defer'd his Baptiſm, but yet he permitted his Wife to ſend a Father of the Society, to do homage to the Sea Apoſtolick, as all *Europe* has heard. God of his goodneſſe grant him that felicity, which may redound to the univerſal good of *China*, and Gods greater glory.

Jungley made Emperour of *China*.

The Heir to the Empire becomes Chriſtian.

But it was not only in *Quangſi* that the *Chineſes* began to reſume their courage, but in the Province of *Fokien* alſo; for no ſooner was the *Tartarian*

Theeves infeſt the Province of *Fokien*.

rian Army called back to *Peking*, but a petty Heathen Prieſt broke out of the Mountains of *Fokien*, with a band of ſeditious fellows, and ſubduing the *Tartarian* Garriſons took the fair City of *Kienning*, and many others from their ſubjection; and others which lay lurking in the Mountaines following his example, recovered alſo many other Cities; about which time alſo the friends and Kindred of the Captive *Iquon* did extremely infeſt the Sea, and making deſcents upon the Land, vexed the Province extremely about the Quarters of *Siuencheu*, and *Changcheu*. At this time a chief Governour of the *Tartarians*, Vice-roy of two Provinces was at *Chekſang*; who hearing of theſe commotions came preſently by night in great haſte with all the force he could make, towards the Mountains of *Fokien*; for he with reaſon feared leſt they ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Paſſages of thoſe places, which if they had done, the whole Province had been re-gained. But when this Vice-roy, called *Changus*, found the Mountains and Paſſages clear, & no oppoſition made in ſuch difficult places, he then proclamed himſelf victorious, and his enemies perfidious Rebels: wherefore coming without reſiſtance into the Country, he beſieged the City *Kienning*, which was defended by *Vangus*. This Siege held ſome weeks, but he never could take the place by force, , and therefore having loſt many of his men by aſſaults, he judged it beſt rather to block up the place afar off, than to beſiege it ſo cloſe and neer. But yet by this, he hindred other forces from joyning with *Vangus*, ſo that he was not ſtrong enough to ſally out upon them.

Changus the Commander of the *Tartars* beſieges *Kienning* in vain.

When the noyſe of theſe commotions came to *Peking*, the Emperour preſently ſent a new ſupply to appeaſe theſe tumults; and this freſh Army comming to joyn with the other, brought the City to great ſtreights; but yet they could not win it, til at length they found means by a rare invention to tranſport their Canons over the Mountains upon Porters Shoulders, by which means they diſmantled the Town, and put all whatſoever to the Sword, to the number of thirty thouſand perſons, as my own friends writ unto me; and not content with this, they ſet fire on the Town, and brought it all to aſhes, by which means, the ſtately Church erected by the Chriſtians for the ſervice of God, was alſo conſumed by that devouring flame; yet the Prieſts that ſerved in that Church got out miraculouſly as *Lot* did out of *Sodom*; which name was appropriated to this City, by reaſon of that infamous vice. This City being taken, it was no hard matter to recover the Countrie; for ſome fled to ſave themſelves in the Mountains, others ran to the Sea, and ſo when this new Army had pacified all, they were called back to *Peking*; where it is not amiſſe to obſerve the policy which the *Tartars* uſe in the Government and ordering of their Army: They are ever calling back ſome, and ſending out others; in which proceeding they aim at two things; firſt to keep the Countries in awe and ſubjection, by ſeeing variety of Troops continually paſſing up and down; and ſecondly, to provide for the poorer ſort of Souldiers; for the wealthy Souldier is called back to recreat, and eaſe labours, and the poor Souldier ſeeing his Companion grown rich, takes heart and courage to run the ſame courſe upon hopes of the like good fortune.

It is at length taken and razed.

Yet for all theſe preventions and cautions, their Empire was not ſo eſtabliſhed,

eſtabliſhed, but by frequent rebellions it was often indangered; and particularly by one Rebellion, which now I will relate, which ſhaked ſhrewdly the foundations of the new Empire. The Kingdome of *China* is of ſo vaſt an extent, as it is a buſineſſe of main importance, to diſtribute judiciouſly the Armies and Garriſons. Now becauſe the *Tartars* alone cannot ſuffice to furniſh both, they are forced to uſe the help of the *Chineſes* themſelves, although they have a ſpeciall care never to leave or place either Commander or Souldier, who is a Native, in the ſame Country; yet this care could not exempt them from ſeveral Treaſons, and Rebellions; though they d iſtribute & order their *Militia*, with great circumſpection; for the chief Commander or Governour reſides in the Metropolitan City, whom all inferiour Officers obey. This man maintaines alwayes a compleat Army, which he commands to march, when he hears of any riſings. Every City has alſo their own proper Governour, with a competent number of Souldiers, but thoſe for the moſt part are *Tartars*, and theſe are *Chines*. But all this Politicall, and well-eſtabliſhed Government could not defend them from Traitors amongſt themſelves. The firſt man that did revolt from them was one *Kinus* Governour of the Province of *Kiangſi*. This man was born in *Leaotung*, and becauſe it is a Country that borders upon *Tartary*, the King commonly moſt confides in the Natives of that Province. It happened I know not how, that this Governour, by reaſon of ſome corruptions, and Avarice of the Viſitor of the Country, had ſome conteſts with him, which grew by little and little to a ſecret hatred; and although they both diſſembled their private malice, as uſually they do in *China*, yet at length the flame broke out to the ruin of the Country; for being the one was Governour of the Armes, and the other of Juſtice, there was a neceſſity of often meetings, & feaſtings alſo. It happened once that whilſt they were feaſted with a ſumptuous Banquet, they were alſo entertained by a pleaſant Comedy; in which the Actors were attired with the habits of *China*, which were more comely and fairer than thoſe which the *Tartars* uſe; upon which occaſion *Kinus* turning himſelf to the Viſitor ſaid, *Is not this habit better, & graver than ours?* This innocent ſpeech was interpreted by his corrival Judge, as if he had contemned the Edict about changing of Ha bits, and expreſſed too much love to the *Chines* Garments, before thoſe of the *Tartars*; and of this he ſent an Expreſſe to advertiſe the Emperour.

How the *Tartars* diſpoſe their Garriſons.

Kinus Governour of a Province rebelleth.

The hatred betwixt the two Prefects diſturbs the Counrry of *Kianſi*.

But the Governour *Kinus*, had corrupted a Secretary, which ſerved the Lord Chief Juſtice; who gave him intelligence of all that paſſed in word or deed in his Maſters Houſe. And as ſoon as he had notice that this Letter was ſent to the Court, he preſently diſpatched thoſe, who intercepted the Packet; which the Governour having read, went preſently armed to the Judges Palace, whom he ſuddenly killed. Then preſently he with the whole Province revolted from the *Tartars*, and with the great applauſe of all the *Chineſes*, he ſubmitted himſelf to *Jungley* the new elected Emperour. One only City called *Cancheu*, which was governed by an incorrupted *Tartar*, refuſed to ſubmit; which was the whole, and only cauſe, that the *Tartars* did recover the two Provinces *Kianſi* and *Quamtung*; both which Provinces revolted at the ſame time with their Commanders, and

Many places revolt from the *Tartar.*

both ſubmitted alſo to the new elected Emperour. *Lihuzus* was Governour of *Quamgtung* at that time, who reſolved to joyn his Forces with *Kinus*, and ſo to caſt the *Tartars* out of the Empire; which it is believed they might have effected, if the Governour of *Cancheu*, which is the Key and entrance into four Provinces, had not cunningly uudermined all their designes and intentions. But this man hearing that *Lihuzus* had revolted, and marched to joyn his Army with *Kinus*, diſpatched to him this deceitfull Letter, *I have not hitherto ſubmitted to* Kinus, *becauſe I knew his forces were not equal, nor able to reſiſt the* Tartars: *But ſeeing thou, moſt renowned and valiant Captain, beginneſt alſo to march againſt them, my hopes concerning them are at end, I am thine, and imbrace thy cauſe; whenſoever thou ſhalt come, or ſend, I will render my City to thee or thine.* But in the mean time he ſent to all the Governours in *Fokien*, to ſend him ſecretly all the poſſible ſuccour they could raiſe altogether. *Lihuzus* having received the Letter marched towards him, cheerfully, and confidently; But though he found the Gates of the City open, yet he was furiouſly repelled by the *Tartarians* oppoſition; which unexpected accident ſo aſtoniſhed his Souldiers, as many of them periſhed, and amongſt the reſt it is thought himſelf was killed, for he was never heard of after.

The deceipt of the Governour of *Cancheu.*

This reverſe and croſſe fortune did much diſturb the progreſſe of the Emperour *Fungley's* affairs; though *Kinus* in the mean time had many ſingular victories over the *Tartars*; for when the chief Governour of all the Weſtern parts of *China*, who had placed his chief Seat in *Nanking*, had gathered great Forces to repreſſe his aſpiring mind, yet he was ſeverall times routed & overthrowne by him; and if *Kinus* had purſued the courſe of his victories, he might have come to the very Walls of *Nanking*; but he was ſollicitous of the City of *Cancheu*, which obliged him to a retreit; for neither was it ſafe for him to leave an enemy behind him, nor could he receive victuals from the Emperour *Fungley*, but by *Cancheu*, which is the natural deſcent of the River; and therefore when he heard of *Lihuzu's* defeat, he preſently beſieged that City with his whole Army; But whilſt he was beſieging this City, there came, unfortunately, a new Army of *Tartars* from the Imperiall City of *Peking*, which had order to recover this Province of *Kiangſi*; and therefore *Kinus* was forced to raiſe his Siege to oppoſe their entrance by the Northern parts of the Country; And at firſt having a vaſt Army, and uſed to the *Tartarian* warfare, he fought both valiantly and happily; but not being able to ſuſtain any longer their redoubled violent aſſaults, he was forced to retire for his ſecurity to *Nanchang*, the chief City of that Country; which City the *Tartars* durſt not venture to take by force, but reſolved to reduce it by a long Siege; for which end they gathered together a Company of Country Clowns to make a large and ſpacious Trench round about the City to the River, and there they placed Ships, ſo as no Proviſion could poſſibly enter. This City of *Nanchang* is great and extremely full of inhabitants, beſides the multitude of Souldiers which defended it at that time; ſo as although *Kinus* had made great Proviſion for a Siege, yet after ſome moneths he came to great want and pennury; and yet he held it out though many dyed, expecting ſtil ſome ſuccours from the Emperour *Fungley*, which could not be ſent; becauſe

Kinus beſieged by the *Tartars.*

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the Souldiers of *Quamgtung* could never ſubdue the City of *Chancheu*, by which his ſuccour was to paſſe; wherefore *Kinus* being brought to great extremity, expreſſed his mind to his Souldiers in theſe words, *There is no further hope, (my faithful Companions) but in our own valour and ſtrength, we muſt force our way through the* Tartarian *Army by dint of Sword; be couragious, and follow my example.* And having ordered all affairs, he ſuddainly made a Sally out of the Town upon their Trenches; where, though he found a vigorous oppoſition, yet, with great difficulty, he paſſed and forced their Trenches, by which means he ſaved himſelf and his Army, having killed many *Tartars*; for it is conſtantly reported that *Kinus* with a good part of his Army lives in the Mountains, expecting there ſome good occaſion to renew the War.

Kinus breaks out of the City.

He being thus eſcaped, the *Tartars* pillaged the City, and put all the Citizens to the ſword; for it is the *Tartars* cuſtom to ſpare all Cities which ſubmit to them; and to thoſe which have made reſiſtance before they be taken, they are more cruell; but they never ſpare or pardon thoſe Cities which revolt after they have once been taken. In this Slaughter they killed the two Prieſts which there aſſiſted the Chriſtians; and their ancient and fair Church was burned in the City. After this, the *Tartars* eaſily recovered the whole Country, and having appeaſed all, and left new Gariſons in all places, the Army returned victorious to the Royal City of *Peking*. In the mean time this Court prepared new Armies to reduce *Quamgtung* with the other Provinces which acknowledged *Fungley* for the Emperour of *China*; for the Tutor to the young King of *Tartary*, finding the defections and rebellions in the Southern parts to be very frequent, reſolved to give thoſe Quarters over to ſome Tributary Royolets, the better to contain thoſe Countries in their duties; wherefore in the year MDCXLIX. he ſent three Armies, conſiſting partly of *Tartars*, and partly of *Chineſes*, under three Tributary Princes, to govern theſe Provinces with abſolute power and Dominion; one of theſe was King of *Fokien*, another of *Quamgtung*, and the third of the Province of *Quangſi*; but with this condition, that firſt, of all they ſhould joyn their Forces to recover the Country of *Quamgtung*, and drive away the Emperour *Fungley*. But we ſhall ſay more of this hereafter; now having ſeen the Rebellions of the South, let us look a little back on the Rebellions in the North againſt the *Tartars* alſo.

The City of *Nanchang* is deſtroyed.

Three Kings created with as many Armies againſt *Fungley* the Emperour of *China*.

In theſe Northern parts the *Chineſes* ſhewed their deſire of Liberty as much as they had done in the South; where the Commanders though overthrown, yet not taken, retired into the abrupt and precipitious Mountains, where they held Counſel, how they might ſhake off the *Tartars* Dominion; three of theſe heads inhabited the thickeſt and higheſt places of that mountanous Country; the chiefeſt of whom was called *Hous*; this man being ſtrong in men, invited the reſt to joyn with him, to deliver his Country from this miſerable thraldome; one of them conſented, the other could not come, but ſent him two thouſand men to aſſiſt him; ſo as *Hous* marched out with five and twenty thouſand men; which was no contemptible Army if they had been as couragious, as numerous: He put out a Proclamation, in which he challenged the *Tartars*, and threatened them all extremities; and to the *Chineſes*, he promiſed all liberty and freedom;

Hous riſeth againſt the *Tartars*.

and upon theſe hopes, many Towns and Cities admitted him very willingly. *Sigan*, the Metropolitan of the Country, was the only place able to reſiſt him, having within its Walls three thouſand *Tartars*, and two thouſand ſelected men of *China*, who ſerved the *Tartar*. The Governour of this Town hearing of *Hous* his motion, gathered all things neceſſary for a long Siege, till a new ſupply of *Tartarian* Forces could be ſent him. But when he heard that all the Towns and Cities in the Country did voluntarily ſubmit themſelves to *Hous*, to prevent the like effect in this City, he reſolved to murder all the Citizens moſt barbarouſly; nor would he ever be removed from this unhumane ſentence, till the Vice-Roy commanding and perſwading, and the Citizens promiſing all faithfull ſervice, at length he changed this Tyrannical Counſel. But he commanded under pain of death, that the *Chineſes*, who loved ſo much their Hair, that they only cut a little of it away, about their Temples, ſhould hereafter ſhave it off wholly and totally, that ſo he might diſtinguiſh the Citizens from any others, if perchance they entred: he ordained beſides, that if any ſpoke more than two together, they ſhould all be preſently killed; he forbad all men to walk upon the Walls, or to walk in the ſtreets by night, or to keep a fire or candle in his houſe by night; and finally diſarmed all; declaring it death to infringe any of theſe orders.

The barbarous reſolution of a *Tartarian* Governour.

Theſe things being thus ordered, he ſent out ſome Scouts to diſcover the enemies ſtrength, who were partly killed, and partly came flying back to the City; but this *Tartarian* Governour, as well to make an oſtentation of his ſtrength, as of his ſecurity, commanded the City Gates to be left open, nor would he permit the Draw-Bridge to be raiſed or pulled up, to ſhew he feared nothing. But for all this, the Commander *Hous* beſieges this City afar off, (which was three leagues compaſſe,) out of the reach of their Artillery; and to the end he might make a ſhew of greater forces than indeed he had, he joyned to his Army a company of dull headed Clowns, by which means he made up a body of thirty thouſand men. The Governour of the City ſeeing ſuch an Army, as appeared, believed them all to be Souldiers, and leſt his Citizens ſhould joyn with them, he thought again of cutting all their throats; but his friends ever diverted him from this outragious cruelty; and it diverted him from ſuch horrid projects, when he walking upon the Walls, ſaw the *Chineſes* under his colours fight ſo valiantly againſt *Hous*; for when he ſaw this, he uſed to cry out in their Language, *Hoo Manzu*, (as much as to ſay) *O good Barbarians*; for ſo the *Tartars* call the *Chinaes*, as conquering Nations uſe to expoſe the conquered to ſcorn and deriſion; and he crowned this ſcoff with theſe words, *Mauzuxa Manzu*, as much as to ſay, Let the barbarous kill the barbarous; and when they returned victorious, he did not onely praiſe them, but gave them Mony, and other precious rewards, which were expoſed to publick view upon the Walls, to animate them to high and generous exploits; ſo as *Hous* finding no Body ſtir in the City, as he expected, could do nothing; beſides, there came new ſuccours to the *Tartarian* Army, which when *Hous* underſtood by his ſpies, he preſently retired. But yet this flight did not ſerve his turn, nor could he wholly eſcape the *Tartars* hands; for the Horſemen purſuing them, fell upon the Rear, and killed many, carrying away great

The chief City called *Sigan* is beſieged.

great ſtore of Riches, which the Commander diſtributed in ſuch proportion, as he gave moſt to ſuch as were wounded; what became of *Hous* after this action, is unknown, and therefore I conclude, that theſe Northern revolts produced no other effect, but the ſpoyl, Rapin and Plunder of all thoſe Quarters, as it had produced the like in the Southern parts. The *Tartars* having happily overcome all difficulties hitherto, fell into another by their own inſolency; from the year MDCXLIX. the Emperour of the *Tartars*, being now grown up to mans Eſtate, deſired to Marry the Daughter of the King of *Tayngu*, who is Prince of the Weſtern *Tartars*, hoping by this match, to conſerve the friendſhip of him, whoſe Forces he feared; for this end he ſent his uncle to him, who was King of *Pauang*. This Prince paſſed by the impregnable City of *Taitung*; which as it is the laſt City towards the North, ſo alſo it is the Key and Bulwark of the Province of *Xanſi* againſt the irruption of the Weſtern *Tartars*; for it commands all the Souldiers which keep the many Fortifications of thoſe Quarters, where a fair Level down extending it ſelf beyond that famous Wall, I mentioned heretofore, gives a fit occaſion for the incurſion of the *Tartars*. The Women of this City are held the moſt beautifull of all *China*; and therefore it happened, that ſome of the Embaſſadours followers did raviſh ſome of them; and alſo carried away by a Rape, a Perſon of quality, as ſhe was carried home to her Spouſe, which was a thing never heard of heretofore amongſt the *Chineſes*. The people had recourſe for theſe injuries to *Kiangus*, who governed thoſe Quarters for the *Tartars*; who hearing of this groſſe abuſe, ſent to that petty Prince *Pauang*, to demand the new Married Lady to be reſtored, and to deſire him to prevent future diſorders in that nature; but he gave a very ſlight Ear to ſuch complaints; and therefore *Kiangus* himſelf went unto him, who was not only ſlighted, but even caſt out of the Palace. His anger was quickly turned into rage; which made him reſolve to revenge that injury by the *Tartars* bloud; he therefore Muſters up his Souldiers, and preſently falls on the *Tartars*, kils all he could encounter; the Embaſſadour himſelf being let down by the Walls of the Town, hardly eſcaped by ſwift Horſes. Then *Kiangus* diſplayed a Banner, wherein he declared himſelf a Subject to the Empire of *China*, but named no Emperour in particular, becauſe perchance he had heard nothing of the Emperour *Jungley*, by reaſon of ſo vaſt a diſtance. But, however, he invited all the *Chineſes* to the defence of their Country, and to expell the *Tartars*; and many Captains as well as Souldiers, came in to him; yea even the very Weſtern *Tartars* againſt whom he had ever born Arms, being promiſed great rewards, ſent him the Forces which he demanded. This accident extremely troubled the Court; for they knew well that the Weſtern *Tartars* did both aſpire to the Empire of *China*, and alſo were envious at their proſperous courſe of fortune; they alſo knew that they were more abundant in Men and Horſes than they were; for from hence it is they bought all their beſt Horſes, and they feared that now they ſhould have no more; and therefore they reſolved to ſend preſently a good ſtrong Army againſt him, before he ſhould gather a greater ſtrength. But *Kiangus* who was as crafty as valiant, and one who by long experience knew how to deal with the *Tartars*; firſt feigned to fly with his Army; But in the Rear he

The *Tartars* inſolencies produced great danger.

Kiangus riſeth againſt the *Tartars*.

Kiangus gathers great Forces.

he placed very many Carts and Wagons, which were all covered very carefully as if they had carried the richeſt Treaſures they poſſeſſed, but in real truth they carried nothing but many great, and leſſer, pieces of Artillery, with their mouths turned upon the Enemie: all which the *Tartars* perceiving, preſently purſue; they fight without any order, and fall upon the prey with great Aviditie; but thoſe that accompanied the Wagons, firing the Artillery, took off the greateſt part of the Army; and withall, *Kiangus* wheeling about, came up upon them, and made a ſtrange carnage amongſt them; and after this he ſhewed himſelf no leſſe admirable in Stratagems than in fortitude and courage; when he fought a ſet pitched Field, with a new recruited Army of the *Tartars*, in which he obtained ſo noble, and renowned a victory, that he filled all the Court at *Peking* with fear and trembling; for by this means victorious *Kiangus* had gathered ſo vaſt an army, as he counted no leſſe than a hundred and fortie thouſand Horſe, and foure hundred thouſand foot, all men having recourſe to him, to defend their Country againſt the *Tartarian* army; and therefore *Amavangus*, Tutor to the Emperour, thinking it not fit to commit this buſineſſe to any other, reſolved himſelf to go againſt *Kiangus*, and trie the laſt turne of fortune for the *Tartars*; he therefore drew out all the eight Colours, that is, the whole Forces that were then in *Peking*; for under theſe eight colours are comprehended all the Forces of the Kingdom of *China*, whether they be Natives or *Tartars*; the firſt of which is White, called the Imperial Banner; the ſecond is Red; the third is Black; the fourth is Yellow; and theſe three laſt are governed and commanded by the Uncle of the Emperour, but the firſt is immediatly ſubject to the Emperour; of theſe four colours by ſeveral mixtures, they frame four more, ſo as every Souldier knows his own colours, and to what part of the City to repair, where they have ever their Arms and Horſes ready for any expedition; ſo as in one half hour they all are ready; for they blow a Horn juſt in the faſhion of that, which we appropriate uſually to our Tritons, and by the manner of winding it, they preſently know, what Companies and Captains muſt march, ſo as they are ready in a moment to follow their Enſign, which a Horſe-man carries tied behind him, though commonly none but the Commander and Enſign knows whither they go: this profound ſecrecy in their exerciſe of War, has often aſtoniſhed the *Chineſes*: for many times, when they thought to oppoſe them in one part, they preſently heard they were in another Quarter: and it is no wonder they are ſo quick, for they never carrie with them any Baggage, nor do they take care for Proviſion: for they feed themſelves with what they finde, yet commonly they eat Fleſh, though half roſted, or half boyled; if they find none, then they devour their Horſes, or Camels: but ever when they have leaſure, they go a hunting all manner of wild Beaſts, either by ſome excellent Dogs and Vultures, which they bring up for that end, or elſe by incompaſſing a whole Mountain, or large Field, they beat up all the wild Beaſts into a circle, and drive them into ſo narrow a compaſſe, as that they can take as many as they pleaſe, and diſmiſſe the reſt. The earth covered with their Horſe-cloath is their Bed, for they care not for Houſes, and Chambers; but if they be forced to dwell in Houſes, their Horſes muſt lodge with them, and they muſt have many holes

Kiangus overthrows the *Tartars* by a ſtratagem. He beats the *Tartars* again.

Amavangus himſelf goes againſt *Kiangus*.

The *Tartars* Banners.

The *Tartars* delight in hunting.

holes beaten in the Walls; but yet their Tents are moſt beautiful, which they fix and remove with ſuch Art and dexterity, as they never retard the ſpeedy march of an Army. Thus the *Tartars* train their Souldiers to hardneſſe for War.

Out of all theſe Enſignes *Amavangus* choſe the choiceſt men to accompany his perſon. And beſides, he took part of thoſe which he had deputed to follow the three Royalets which he diſpatched to the South, ordering them to take as many out of the ſeverall Garriſons through which they paſſed, as might ſupply this defect. But although *Amavangus* had ſo gallant, and ſuch a flouriſhing Army, yet he never durſt give Battail to *Kiangus*, leſt he might ſeem to expoſe the whole Empire of the *Tartars* to the fortune of one Battail; So that although *Kiangus* did frequently offer him Battail; yet he ever refuſed to fight, expecting ſtill to hear what reply the Weſtern *Tartars* would make to his Propoſition of his Nephews Marriage; for he had ſent a Legate to that *Tartarian* King with pretious gifts, as well to demand his Daughter for the Emperour of *China*, as to deſire him to afford no ſuccour to the Rebel *Kiangus:* The precious gifts of Gold, of Silk, of Silver, and of Women, obtained whatſoever he demanded; and therefore *Kiangus* ſeeing himſelf deſerted of the *Tartars*, that he might provide as well as he could for his own affairs, returned to the City *Taitung*, of which he ſoon repented himſelf, when it was too late; for *Amavangus* calling in an innumerable number of Pezants, in the ſpace of three dayes, with an incredible diligence, caſt up a Trench of ten Leagues compaſſe, which he ſo fortified with Bulwarks and Ramparts, that in a trice he blocked up that City. Then did *Kiangus* ſee his errour in granting them leaſure to draw their Trench, which he knew would debar him from all manner of Proviſion. And therefore being enraged with anger, as he was a man full of mettal, and a great Souldier, turning himſelf to his Souldiers, he ſaid, *If I muſt dye, I had rather dye by the Sword, than by Famine*; and upon this marched out preſently to the Enemies Trench with his whole Army. Here it was that both the parties fought moſt obſtinately, the one to ſeek his Paſſage, the other to hinder his Advance; ſo as the fortune was various, and the victory doubtfull, untill an unlucky Arrow tranſpierc'd *Kiangus*; and in him all the hope of *China* periſhed. His Souldiers ſeeing him dead, partly ran away, and partly ſubmitted to the *Tartars*, who received them with all courteſie and humanity; for they had cauſe enough of joy, to ſee they had eſcaped the danger of loſing the Empire, and that they had conquered ſo formidable a Commander. But yet they Plundered the City *Taitung*, and burned the City of *Pucheu*, where the Church of the Chriſtians alſo periſhed. From hence the *Tartars* returned to *Peking*, where I ſaw them enter overladen with Riches and triumphant Laurels; But *Amavangus* purſued his journey to the Weſtern *Tartars*; where he ratified his Nephew *Xunchius* his Marriage, and brought back with him an infinite Company of Horſe from the *Tartars* of the Kingdome of *Tanyu*.

Amavangus durſt not fight with *Kiangus*.

Kiangus is killed.

Xanchius the Emperour Marries.

In the mean time, the three Royalets which went to the Southern Kingdomes, to pacifie thoſe unquiet Provinces, tooke their journey by the deſcent of the River *Guel*; and when they paſſed through that Province,

vince, which the Emperour had given the *Tartars* to inhabit, and cultivate, after he had expelled the *Chineſes* for their Rebellion, moſt of theſe Pezants, being wholly ignorant of tilling and manuring the ground, as having never been uſed to mannage a Spade or a Plough, but their Swords; theſe men, I ſay, deſired earneſtly theſe Princes, that they might acccompany them in theſe Wars, and in their expeditions; Two of theſe Princes rejected their Petitions; but the third called *Kengus* without any conſent or order from the Emperour, liſted them amongſt his own Troups; upon which they joyfully changed their ruſtical inſtruments into weapons for war; when the Emperour heard of this proceeding, he ſent word to *Kengus* to diſmiſs them; but he pretended various excuſes, and did neglect the Emperours orders. He therfore commanded the ſupreme Governour of all the Southern Quarters who reſides ever at *Nanking* either to take *Kengus* alive, or cauſe him to be ſlaine. He preſently caſt about how to compaſſe the Emperours command with all ſecrecy, & received the three Royolets with all ſorts of divertiſements, of Comedies, Banquets, & the like pleaſures, as if he had received no diſtaſtful order from the Emperour. And when the day was come that they reſolved to proſecute their journey by the great River of *Kiang*, the ſaid Governour contrived his buſineſſe ſo, as he met them again in the River, and under pretence of taking his laſt farewell, he entertained them nobly with a Royal feaſt, and in as Royall a Junck; which in *China* are ſo magnificent, as they reſemble rather ſome gilded Palaces than floating Veſſels. In this Princely Ship he entertained theſe Princes in all jollity and mirth, untill their Army had advanced a good way before, and then he declared to *Kengus* the Emperours order; who preſently promiſed all ſubmiſſion, and to returne to *Nanking* with him, if he would onely permit him to go to his Ship, which expected him in the River, to order ſome little affairs of his own; which being granted, he no ſooner got into his Ship, but, knowing he could not avoid death by another mans hand, he choſe rather to be his own executioner; and ſo hanged himſelf. Yet for all this, the ſupreme Governour in the Emperours name, granted to this Mans Son the ſame Dignity and Province which had been conferred upon the Father; and thus the three Royolets joyning again, having paſſed *Nanking* and *Kiangſi*, came at length into the Province of *Quamtung*, to carry on the War againſt the Emperour *Fungley*; and at their firſt entrance, they took many Cities, which durſt not oppoſe the ſtrength of their Armies; onely, the City of *Quangcheu* reſolved to try its fortune and ſtrength.

Kengus hangs himſelf.

This City of *Quangcheu* is a moſt rich and beautiful place, environed with large waters; only the Northern Gate joines to the Continent, on all other ſides it is entrable only by boate. In this Town was the Son of the Captive *Iquon* whom I mentioned before; beſides, there was a ſtrong Garriſon to defend it, and amongſt others many fugitives from *Macao*, who were content to ſerve the Emperour *Fungly* for great ſtipends; and by reaſon the *Tartars* had neither Ships, nor skill to govern them, and that the Town had both the one and the other, it is no wonder if they endured almoſt a whole years Siege, having the Sea open for their relief; the *Tartars* made many aſſaults, in which they loſt many men, and were ever

beaten

beaten back, and vigorously repelled. This courage of theirs, made the *Tartars* fall upon a resolution of beating down the Town Walls, with their great Cannon, which had such effect as in fine they took it the 24. of *November* MDCL. and because it was remarked that they gave to one of the Prefects of the Town, the same Office he had before, it was suspected it was delivered by Treason. The next day after, they began to Plunder the City, and the sackage endured from the 24. of *November* till the 5 of *December*; in which they neither spared Man, Woman or Child; but all whosoever came in their way were cruelly put to the Sword; nor was there heard any other Speech; But, *Kill, kill these barbarous Rebels*: yet they spared some Artificers to conserve the necessary Arts, as also some strong and lusty men, such as they saw able to carry away the Pillage of the City; but finally the 6 day of *December* came out an Edict, which forbad all further vexation, after they had killed a hundred thousand men, besides all those that perished severall wayes during the Siege. After this bloody Tragedy, all the Neighbouring Provinces sent voluntarily their Legates to submit, demanding mercy, which they obtained by the many rich presents which were offered. After this the Royalet marched with his Army, against the City *Chaoking*, where the Emperour *Jungley* held his Court, but he knowing himself far inferiour in Forces, and unable to resist, fled away with his whole Army and Family, leaving the City to the *Tartars* mercy. But whither this Emperour fled, is yet wholly unknown to me, for at this time I took Shipping in *Fokien* to the *Philippines*, and from thence I was commanded to go for *Europe*, by those whom I must not disobey. But I make no doubt, but the Emperour retired into the adjoyning Province called *Quangsi*.

The City of *Quangcheu* is taken and pillaged.

The Emperour *Jungly* flyes.

Now to give the Reader a little touch how the *Tartars* stand affected to Christianity; in the Metropolitan City of *Quangcheu*, which (as I now related) was utterly destroyed, we had a stately Church, and there was a venerable person, who had the care and superintendency of all the Christians, whose name was *Alvarus Semedo* a Jesuit; this Man they took & tyed hand & foot for many dayes, and threatned to kil him every houre, unless he would deliver the Christians Treasures; but the poor man had no Treasure to produce; so as he suffered much, till at length the King hearing of his case, took pitty of his venerable gray Heirs and comely Person, and gave him not onely his life and liberty, but a Bible, and a Breviary, together with a good summe of Money for an Almes; and finally a House to build a Church for Christians; and this is lesse to be wondred at from him, because heretofore he had been a Souldier under that famous *Sun Ignatius*, whom I mentioned before, where he knew what belonged to Christianity, and also had seen the Jesuits in his Camp, from whence he fled to the *Tartars*. Nor is it onely this *Tartar* that favours us Christians, but in a manner all the rest do love, honour, and esteem those Fathers, and many have imbraced our Religion, nor do we doubt but many more would follow their example, if we could enter *Tartary*, as now it is projecting, where doubtlesse many great things may be performed, for the reducing of that Nation to the Faith of Christ; and perchance God has opened a way to the *Tartars* to enter *China*, to give Christianity a passage

The Author of the Relation of *China*.

The *Tartars* offer a Church to Christians.

into *Tartary*, which hitherto to us hath been unknown and inacceſſible.

About this time alſo they made War againſt the Kingdome of *Corea*; who of late years became alſo Tributary to the *Tartars*, upon condition that they ſhould ſtill conſerve their Hair and Habits: but now the *Tartars* would needs conſtrain them to conform themſelves to the *Tartarian* faſhion; and therefore all that Kingdome revolted from the *Tartars*; but my departure hindred me from knowing ſince what has paſſed.

Corea revolted from the *Tartars.*

But all theſe glorious victories were much eclipſed, by the ſorrowfull death of *Amavangus*, which happened in the beginining of the year MDCLI. He was a Man to whom the *Tartars* owe their Empire in *China*, and ſuch an one as whom both *Tartars* and *Chineſes* loved and feared, for his prudence, Juſtice, humanity, and skill in Martial affairs. The death of this Potentate did much trouble the Court; for the Brother to this Man called *Quingtus*, would needs pretend to the Government of the Empire, and of the young Emperour *Xunchius*; but both the *Tartars* & the *Chineſes* reſiſted his claime, alledging, that, being of ſixteen year old, he was able to govern the Kingdom himſelf; & in conformity to this opinion, all the Preſidents depoſed the Enſignes of their Offices, refuſing ever to receive them from any, but from the young inſtalled Emperour *Xunchius*. To which Conſtancy the King *Kuintus*, Uncle to the Emperour, prudently yeelded, leſt he ſhould exaſperate the minds of many, and raiſe greater troubles in the Empire.

Amavangus dyeth.

But I cannot doubt, but the death of *Amavangus*, muſt needs endanger the *Tartarian* Empire, and bring all their affairs into great diſturbance; for they will hardly find a Man ſo beloved, feared, and expert in all Military Diſcipline and Government as he in effect ſhewed himſelf to be; but time wil teach us, what will become of all, for ſince his death we have no certainty of any relation.

Now let us turne the threed of our diſcourſe as I promiſed here above, and conſider the fortune and ſucceſs of the other Great Brigand, caled *Changhienchungus*, to let the Reader underſtand how the *Tartars* did invade, not onely the Mediterranean and Oriental parts, but alſo the Occidental Quarters of that vaſt Kingdome.

Changhienchungus a cruel Tyrant.

But before I begin to ſpeak of this monſter of nature, I muſt ingeniouſly confeſs, I am both aſhamed, and alſo touched with a kind of horrour, to declare his villanies, both in reſpect they ſeem to exceed all belief, and therefore I may perchance be held to write Fables; as alſo becauſe it is no grateful thing to make reflections on ſuch Subjects; yet I may ſincerely proteſt, that I have in my hands a long relation of all his Acts, written by two Religious perſons, who were then in the Province of *Suchuen* to exerciſe their Functions, which Country was the Theater of all his Brutalities, which I ſhall relate; and becauſe I judge theſe two perſons to be of an incorrupted Faith, I judge therefore that a mortal Man might arrive to this pitch of wickedneſs and inhumane Cruelty. I therefore gathered out of that relation, what I here relate; which is nothing elſe but a vaſt Maſſe of ſuch abominable Cruelty, as I doubt not even the moſt mildeſt Reader wil take the Authour to be no Man but ſome horrid wild Beaſt, or rather, if no more execrable name occurres, ſome Devill tranſveſted in our humane Nature.

This

This monſter, like a wild Bear, entred into divers Provinces, filling all with Rapin, Death, Fire and Sword, with all other imaginable miſeries: for he had a mind to deſtroy all, that ſo he might have no enemies, or leave any alive that might revolt from him, but only content himſelf with his own Souldiers; and oftentimes he ſpared not theſe. But the Province of *Suchuen*, where he uſurped the Title of a King was the chief Theater of his barbarous crueltie; for after he had afflicted and vexed the Provinces of *Huquang* and *Honan*, and part of that of *Nanking* and *Kiangſi*, he entred the Province of *Suchuen* in the year MDCXLIV. and having taken the principal Citie called *Chingtu*, in the heat of his fury he killed a King of the *Taimingian* Race, which here had eſtabliſhed his Court; as he hath done alſo to ſeven other Grandees of the ſame family. Theſe were the Preludes of the Tragical Acts, whoſe Sences I go about briefly to deſcribe, that ſo *Europe* may ſee, what a horrid and execrable thing an unbridled and armed crueltie appears to be, when it furiouſly rageth in the darkneſſe of Infidelitie.

He kils divers Princes.

This Brigand had certain violent and ſuddain motions of furious crueltie, and maxims drawn from the very bowels of vengeance it ſelf; for if he were never ſo little offended by another, or ſuſpected another to be offended with him, he preſently commanded ſuch to be maſſacred; and having nothing in his mouth but murder and death, he often for one ſingle Mans fault deſtroy'd all the Family, reſpecting neither Children, nor Women with Child; nay many times he cut off the whole Street where the offender dwelled, involving in the Slaughter, as well the innocents as nocents. It happened once he ſent a man poſt into the Country of *Xenſi*, who being glad he was got out of the Tyrants hands, would not return; to revenge this imaginary injury, he deſtroyed all the Quarter of the Citie in which he dwelt, and thought he much bridled his fierceneſſe, that he did not wholly extinguiſh all the Citie. To this I adde another unhumane Act, about his hangman, whom it ſeems he loved above the reſt, becauſe he was crueller; this man dying of a diſeaſe, he cauſed the Phyſician who had given him Phyſick to be killed; and not content with this, he Sacrificed one hundred more of that Profeſſion to the Ghoſt of his deceaſed Officer.

For one offending, he puts all to death.

He was affable and ſweet towards his Souldiers; he plaied, banquetted, and feaſted with them, converſing familiarly with them; and when they had performed any Militarie Action, with honour and valour, he gave them precious gifts of Silks and Monies; but yet many times he commanded ſome of them to be cruelly put to death before him upon very ſmall cauſe, eſpecially ſuch as were of the Province of *Suchuen* where he raigned; (whom he intirely hated, becauſe he thought they did not rejoyce in his Royal dignitie.) Inſomuch as he hardly ever did any publick Action, which though it began like a Comedie, yet had not in fine, the ſad Cataſtrophe of a Tragedie; for if, walking out, he did but eſpie a Souldier ill clad, or whoſe manner of Gate or walking was not ſo vigorous or Maſculine as he deſired, he preſently commanded him to be killed. He once gave a Souldier a piece of Silk, who complained to his fellows of the poorneſſe of the piece, and being over-heard by a ſpie, (of which he had a great number)

His hatred to the people of *Suchuen*.

who presently acquainted him with what was said, he presently commanded him, and this whole Legion which were of two thousand men, to be all Massacred.

He cuts off a Legion for one mans fault.

He had in his Royal Citie some six hundred Prefects, or Judges, and men belonging to the Law, such as managed the principal Offices; and in three years space there was hardly twentie left, having put all the rest to several deaths for very slight causes; He caused a Sergeant Major which the *Chineses* call *Pingpu*, to be flea'd alive, for having granted leave to a *China* Philosopher, without special order, to retire a little to his Country House. And whereas he had five hundred Eunuchs taken from the Princes of the *Taimingean* Family, after he had put their Lords to death; he commanded all these to be cruelly put to death; onely because one of them had presumed to stile him, not by the Title of a King, but by the bare name of *Changhienchungus*, as if he then were no Theef.

He kils many City Officers.

And he killed also the Eunuchs.

Nor did he spare the Heathenish Priests, who sacrificed to their Idols. These sort of men, before he came into this Country, having feignd many crimes against the Priests, which preached the Faith of Christ, had raised a bitter persecution against them; which God of his goodnesse did turn so much to their good, as they had permission to teach and preach publickly the Law of Christ. But after this Tyrant came into the Countrie, the chief of these Heathenish Priests was apprehended for some words let fall against him, and in the presence of the Fathers, who by accident were then at audience with the Tyrant, he was beheaded; And although they had learned of Christ to do good for evill, yet knowing the phrenetical anger and fury of this monster, who used to punish those that interceded, with the punishment of the offender, they durst not make any motion for the least favour. It is true, this cruel Beast loved these Fathers, and would often converse with them, whom he experienced wise and learned, and he would often call them to the Palace to entertain him in discourse; but they knowing well his precipitous anger, went ever prepared for, and expecting death; and indeed they were thrice deputed to death; and a fourth time escaped also by Gods particular providence, as we shall relate in time and place. But he was not contented with the death of one of these same Heathenish Priests, but having got together about twentie thousand of the same profession, he sent them all to hell, to visit their Masters whom they had served. And then he would applaud himself, as if he had done a very Heroical Action, saying to them, *These men would have taken away your lives; but Thiencheu*, so they call God, which signifies the Lord of Heaven, *has sent me to revenge your cause, & inflict due punishment upon these wretches.* He would often confer also with the Fathers of Christian Religion, and that so properly, as a man would take him for a Christian. He praised, and highly extolled the Religion of Christians, which he well understood, partly by the conferences which he frequently had with the Fathers, and partly by reading their books, which for the Instruction of Christians they had writ in the *China* language; & hath often promised to build a Church to the God of Christians, worthy of his magnificence, when he once came to be Emperour of *China*; and indeed all the works he erected were very splendid and magnificent; but he polluted them all with the blood of the Workmen;

For one mans fault he kils twenty thousand.

Workmen; for if he found they had but committed the leaſt errour, or the leaſt imperfection, he preſently put them to death upon the place.

On the North part of the Country of *Suchuen*, where it confines with the Province of *Xenſi*, lies the ſtrong City called *Nanchung*, which though it be ſeated in the County of *Xenſi*, yet in reſpect, it is both ſo ſtrong and of ſo great an extent, it is held to be the Key of both the two Provinces. The Tyrant endeavoured by all induſtry to make himſelf Maſter of this important place, as being a convenient paſſage to the reſt; wherefore in the year MDCXLV. he levied a vaſt Army, conſiſting of one hundred and fourſcore thouſand men, all Natives of the Countie of *Suchuen*, beſides thoſe of his own, which had alwaies followed him. He ſent before this numerous Army, which beſieged the Town a long time, but found ſo rigorous reſiſtance, that they began to be weary, and about fourtie thouſand of thoſe Souldiers of *Suchuen* revolted to the Prefects which governed the be-leagured Cities; by which means the Army was conſtrained to return to the Tyrant, without any memorable Action: and he being enraged with anger to ſee them retire, commanded all the reſt of the Souldiers of the Province of *Suchuen*, (which were in number one hundred and fourtie thouſand,) to be all maſſacred by the reſt of the Army. This horrible Butchery laſted four daies; in which ſlaughter he commanded many of them to have their skins pulled off, which he filling with ſtraw, and ſowing on the head, commanded to be carried publickly and viſibly into the Towns where they were born, ſo to ſtrike more terrour into the hearts of the inhabitants; and after all this, yet he had ſuch a malitious hatred againſt this Country, that he never ceaſed to vex and torment it, even when it was in a manner left deſolate. Many unexpert perſons, without head or guide, did take Arms againſt him, but he quickly diſperſed them, being wholly unexperienced in Military Diſcipline; others that were wiſer, leaving the City, retired into the Mountains, which were in a manner the onely men who eſcaped his fury.

He endeavours to take *Hanchung*.

He kils 140000 men moſt cruelly.

After this he called all the Students of the Country to be examined for their degrees, promiſing to give thoſe honours, to whomſoever ſhould deſerve them beſt; and the *Chineſes* are ſo bewitched with the deſire of theſe dignities, that they did not conceive the perfidious Stratagem of the Tyrant. There appeared therefore in the publick Hall deputed for that Ceremony about eighteen thouſand perſons; all which he commanded his Souldiers to maſſacre moſt barbarouſly, ſaying; Theſe were the peoplewho by their cavilling ſophiſms, ſollicited the people to rebellions.

He kils all the Students.

I have a horrour to relate ſo many unhumane ſlaughters, and yet I ſee my ſelf over-whelmed with new ones; for what an addition is it to all his related barbarities, to tell you, That he never ſpared Children, Boys, nor Girls, no nor Matrons with Child, and ready to lye down? what an exceſs of all inhumanity to take the Prefects Wives; when their Husbands were condemned, but yet alive, and to expoſe theſe Women to all kind of villanies; and then to kill them? This was ſo reſented by many, as they rather choſe to kill themſelves, than to undergoe ſo infamous and publick an opprobry to their honeſty. I forbear to relate more of ſuch deteſtable and execrable examples, leſt I offend the ears and minds of the Reader by ſuch abominations.

He kils the Children and expoſes the Matrons.

Let

Let us therefore ſuppreſſe theſe impurities, and paſſe to what happened in the year MDCXLVI. when the *Tartars* entred into the Province of *Xenſi* to give him Battail, ſo as he was forced to go out to meet them. And, to the end he might leave the Country behind him with more ſecurity, he reſolved to cut off all the inhabitants, (except thoſe which inhabited the North-Eaſt Quarters by which he was to paſſe, and therefore muſt needs reſerve theſe Creatures to aſſiſt and furniſh his Army with all neceſſaries; and therefore he deferred their death to another time.) Firſt therefore he commanded all the Citizens of what quality or condition ſoever, that did inhabit his Metropolitan City of *Chingtu* to be bound hand and foot, which was done by a part of the Army, which he had called in; and then riding about them, (which vaſt multitude is related to have been above ſix hundred thouſand Souls,) he viewed them all with leſſe compaſſion than the cruelleſt Tygre would have done; whileſt in the mean time, theſe poor victims with lamentable crys, which penetrated the very vault of Heaven, and might have moved a heart compoſed of ſtone or Rock, holding up their hands, begged of this outragious Tyrant to ſpare the lives of his innocent people. He ſtood a while Penſive, like an aſtoniſhed and amazed Creature, ſo as it ſeemed to be an imperfect *Criſis*, wherein humane nature ſtruggled a little with thoſe bowels, and that heart which was compoſed of all cruelty; but preſently returning to his beaſtly nature, *Kill, kill*, ſaith he, *and cut off all theſe Rebels*, upon which words, they were all maſſacred in one day out of the City Wals, in the preſence of this bloody monſter. Thoſe Religious perſons, which were there, the Fathers of Chriſtianity, reſolved to make their addreſſes for the Tyrant to ſave their converts lives; and though all men judged it a deſperate attempt, yet they obtained the lives of thoſe they claimed. So as they diſtributed themſelves at the City Gates, and as their Clients paſſed bound to the Shambles, they mercifully unbound their Shakles, and reſcued them from death. By which occaſion alſo they performed another acceptible Sacrifice to God, in Baptizing an infinite number of Children, which the Souldiers willingly permitted, ſo as the horrid and execrable cruelty of this Tyrant proved as advantagious to theſe little Angels, as *Herods* ſlaughter did to the Bleſſed Innocents.

He kils 600000 in the City *Chingtu*.

Many Children Baptized.

They write, that in this maſſacre there was ſo much blood ſpilt, as made the great River of *Kiang*, which runs by the City, to increaſe and ſwell viſibly; and the dead Corps being caſt into the River, and carried downwards to the other Cities, did denounce unto them, that they were to expect no better Treaty from this Tyrants hands. And it quickly proved true, for he diſpatched his Army to the reſt of the Cities, and killed all that he could lay hands on; and thus this Tyrant did bring that populous Province of *Suchuen* into a vaſt wilderneſſe. After this, he muſtered all his Souldiers in a Field, which in every City of *China* is deputed for that end, and is called by the Natives *Kioochang*; in this place, he delivered himſelf thus unto them, *I hope by your valour to obtain the Empire of the world, when I have expelled the Tartars; but I deſire to ſee you yet quicker and nimbler than hitherto you have been; you all know, to free you from all burdens and heavy luggage, how I ſunk threeſcore Ships full of Silver in the River*

of

of Kiang; *which I can eaſily recover, to reward your pains and merits, when I ſhall once have obtained the Empire;* (he had indeed ſunck the Ships, and killed the Ship men, to conceal the place;) *but there remaines yet a greater encumbrance, which retards much our journey, and all our enterpriſes, which is your Wives, which are a heavy burden to you all; Therefore now put on a generous reſolution; There will not be wanting other exquiſit Women, when we are come to poſſeſſe the Empire; and although as Emperour I ought to have ſome Prerogative, and make a difference betwixt you and my Royall perſon, yet I am content in this, to give you all a leading example, which may ſerve as a Preſident.* After this Speech, of three hundred handſome and beautiful Maids, which he kept for his voluptuous pleaſures, he onely reſerved twenty to ſerve his three Queens, and commanded all the reſt to be killed upon the place. The Souldiers preſently followed the example and command of their cruel Tyrant, and cut off the heads of innumerable innocent Women, as if they had been their mortal enemies.

He kils all the Souldiers Wives.

Having now no more men in the Province of *Suchuen* to put to death, he turned his fury and hatred againſt the Cities, Houſes and Palaces: for whereas he had built himſelf a very ſtately and magnificent Palace in the City of *Chingtu*, he conſumed that, and with it, a great part of that noble City with fire; beſides he cut down all Trees and Woods, that they might profit no man. And thus (as he ſaid) having purged his Army, he marched on into the Province of *Xenſi* to meet the *Tartars*; but as he marched, if he found any man remaining alive, he commanded him to be killed. And not content with all this, if he eſpied any Souldier which marched either too far before, or too far behind, though the fault were never ſo little, he killed him preſently. He killed all his ſick or weak Souldiers, that they might be delivered (as he ſaid) out of ſo miſerable and ruined a Country. I ſuppreſſe many more paſſages of his cruelty, becauſe I will haſten to the Cataſtrophe of this Tragedy.

He burned his Palace in the City of *Chingtu*.

He was no ſooner entred into the Province of *Xenſi*, but one of the Emperours Uncles meets him with five thouſand *Tartars*, the Body of the Army marching after him; five Horſemen are ſent out before the Army (as uſually they do amongſt the *Tartars*;) who if they be well received of the enemy, they take it as a ſign of Peace and ſubmiſſion; but if they receive any Act of hoſtility, then the Army marcheth up to fight. Theſe Horſemen were eſpied by the Tyrants Scouts; who preſently brought him Tydings of their approach. But he laughed at the news, and jeſtingly asked them, If the *Tartars* had learned to fly. He drove at that time, many perſons bound before him, which he intended to maſſacre, and amongſt the reſt two of the Jeſuits, for asking leave to returne into *Suchuen*, which was the Country they had undertaken to convert to Chriſtianity. But the ſuddain death of this Arch-brigand delivered them all from the imminent danger; for at the ſame time came in his chief Commanders, aſſuring him the *Tartar* was upon him; upon which news, he being of a bold and couragious humour, burſt out of his Tent, and without either head-piece or breſt-Plate, ſnatched up a Lance, and went out with a few, to view the enemy. The foreſaid five *Tartars* preſently aſſaulted the Tyrant; and the firſt Arrow was ſhot,

(happy

The Tyrant is slain.

(happy to the *Tartars*, and many others,) pierced the heart of that monster of Cruelty, killing that Man, who had an intention to make an end of all Men; and who from the base condition of a rascally Theef, presumed to take the Sacred Title of King and Emperour. The head being down, the *Tartars* easily seized on the body of his Army; many of the Souldiers submitted to them, others were killed, others ran away; and the poor inhabitants of the Province of *Suchuen* received the *Tartars* as their Saviours. By which means this Province which is the most Western in *China*, and borders upon the Kingdome of *Tibet*, became subject to the *Tartarian* Empire.

The Province of *Suchuen* is made subj & to the *Tartars.*

When they had establisht Garrisons, and all their other Affairs in that Country, they prepared to returne to the Royall City of *Peking*; leading with them the two Captive Priests, which they had found in Chains, as a present most acceptable to the *Tartarian* Emperour; there I saw them, and left them in great veneration and honour in the year MDCL.

One of the Emperours Uncles is ill received.

But this victorious Conquerour returning crowned with Laurels, was ill received and worse recompensed, by his Brother the great *Amavangus*, (who was the Emperours Tutor;) and in stead of a deserved triumph, he received an unworthy death; for being to make a march of many Months, to undergo much labour, and many troubles, it happened so, that he lost more Men in marching than in fighting; upon which he was accused of great negligence in governing his Army; and being of a generous nature, he thought he deserved high praise, but no blame, and therefore he took his *Tartarian* Cap, and scornfully trampled it upon the ground, (which is the greatest sign of indignation, which they can expresse;) upon which fact he was committed to a Prison proper to those of the blood Royall which he accused of any Crime; But he scorned to be the first of the *Tartarian* Family, which should suffer this opprobry in *China*; and therefore before he was carried to this Prison called by the *Chinese Coaciang*, he hung himself miserably in his own Palace. A Gallant Prince, and worthy of a better fortune. Many think this disgrace to have grown from *Amavangus* his eldest Brothers emulation; but I think that *Amavangus* was affraid that this Man, though wanting no courage, yet of a precipitit nature, would quickly ruin the *Tartarian* affairs, by his rash proceedings. And here I will put a period to this brief Narration of the *Tartars* War to the year MDCLI. in which year I was sent to *Europe*, by those that may command me. In which relation if there be nothing else worthy of admiration, yet it seems wonderfull to consider, that in seven years space they conquered more ground, than an entire Army could have walked through in the whole length & breadth thereof in that space of time; for they over-ran the twelve vast Provinces of *China*; besides the immense extents of *Leaotung*, and the Kingdom of *Corea*.

He hangs himself.

What since has past, in such vicissitude of fortune, I know not; but as soon as God shall blesse me with a prosperous returne into my beloved *China*; or that my friends acquaint me with any new Occurrences by Letters, I will procure that all *Europe* shall understand the Issue of these prodigious revolutions.

FINIS.

An Addition to the former Hiſtory,

taken out of the laſt Letters from *China*

Written in the years 1651. 52. and 53.

AFter the Printing of this our Hiſtory of the *Tartarian* Wars, returning to *Bruſſels* from *Amſterdam* (where I uſed all poſſible expedition to bring my *Atlas Sinicus* to the Preſſe) I there received my long deſired Letters from *China*, ſent by my friends from *Rome*; ſome of which being dated the 14. of *November* 1651, were writ by a *Sicilian*, called Father *Francis Brancatus*, who ſojurns in the City of *Xanchai*, in the Province of *Nanking*; and reflecting, that happily it would not be ungratefull to our *Europeans*, if I made a private relation, of publick uſe; I reſolved to draw out this little enſuing Narration from thoſe Letters written in ſeverall years.

The Empire of *China* is now grown to a more fixed and ſetled Eſtate, ſince the death of *Amavangus* Uncle to the Emperour: to whoſe expedition in invading that Empire and Vigilance in conſerving it, the *Tartars* owe their happy ſucceſſe.

But yet, the opinion framed of him after his death, was far different from the authority and power he carried in his life; for no ſooner was the exerciſe of governing by his death devolved into the hands of his Nephew, called *Xunchi*; but that this Emperour, though a youth in years, began his raign by the approbation of all eſtates and orders, with ſuch maturity of judgement, and councel, as he ſeemed to ſurpaſſe the gray and hoary heads of his wiſeſt Counſellors. He was no ſooner enthroned, then he expreſſed a ſtrange ripeneſſe of judgement, and ſeverity of Juſtice joyned together; for having diſcovered his Uncles wicked counſels and deſigns, and traced the obſcure track of his abhominable vices, which were hid during his life: he did ſo much reſent thoſe deteſtable Acts, as he commanded his body to be digged up, and his magnificent Sepulchre to be beaten down; which kind of puniſhment amongſt the *Chineſes* is held to be the greateſt that can be inflicted; being taught by their Religion, to carry all veneration and reſpect to the tombs of dead perſons. The Carcaſſe being dragged out, they firſt beat it with Clubs, then they ſcourged it with Rods; and finally, cutting off the head, they made it a ſpectacle to all criminal opprobies. Thus the ſplendour of his Tomb, was brought to duſt; and fortune paid him after his death, the diſgrace ſhe owed him in his life.

He punished also all the Officers and Prefects, which were privie to his councels; putting some to death, and depriving others of their dignities. Amongst all which I find the fortune of General *Fung* to have been very various: who though he be no Christian, yet being a singular friend, and protector of our society, and particularly known to my self, I cannot but rejoyce to hear him restored, to his place and dignity, after his discovered innocency. In the mean time the Emperour *Xunchius*, growing up to mans estate, and solicitous to propagate his honour to his posterity, resolved to accomplish his long intended Marriage with the Daughter to the Emperour of the Occidental *Tartars*: In which action, the *Tartars* imitate the *European* custom; for they take a Lady of some like illustrious blood or descent; But the Emperours of *China* seem little to value the nobility of blood, but select the prime st beauty; nor will they refuse a person of a mean fortune, if she be but graced with beauty; In so much, as the Wife to the late Emperour of *China*, was Daughter to a man, that got his living by making straw Shoos. So King *Ahasuerus* raised a poor Captive maid to be Consort with him in his Royal Throne: which kind of custom happily the *Chineses* drew from the *Persians*, or the *Persians* from them. But to return to the subject that caused this little digression. The Emperours Wedding was performed with a Pomp and splendor proportionable to such an Empire: nor was there any magnificence wanting on the Spouses part; for according to the fashion of the Nation, she came accompanied with whole Armies of men, and so many Troops of Horse, as they seemed innumerable; nature seeming to have framed the riches of the *Tartars* more for warlike affairs, than for pleasure. Nor is this infinit multitude of Horse incredible, for I my self have seen eighty thousand Horse, all at one time, sent as a present from the Occidental *Tartars* to the King of *China*.

Which boundlesse power of the *Tartars*, as it cannot be contained within any limits, so also it hath lately broke out into the Province of *Quamtung*, which they have wholly subdued; and out of that, like an impetuous Torrent, they ran into the Province of *Quangsi*; which they likewise have conquered to their Empire. So as the King of *China* called *Fungley*, with his chief favourit the Eunuch, called *Pang Achileus*, who professeth Christianity, were feign to fly to the Confines of *Tunking*, being in a manner excluded the whole Empire. In so much as a friend of mine writes out of the Province of *Fokien*, that the King *Fungley* fearing to fall into the *Tartars* hands, was feign to leave the Land, and fly to Sea. Neither have we any news of our Father *Andrew Xaverius Koffler* who followed the Court of King *Fungley*, having had the happinesse to have Baptized his Queen, his Sonne, and his Mother, with many others of that Court.

In the mean time, whilst one *Cung*, a Royolet amongst the *Tartars*, subdued the Province of *Quangsi*, the *Colaus*, who was Governour of the Country, and a Christian, fell into the Enemies hands; and the *Tartars*, hoping by rewards and promises of dignities, to win the submission of this so gallant a man, and so eminent a Philosopher, abstained three daies from any cruelty, or ill usage toward him; But he scorned to prefer his life before his allegeance and fidelity to his King; and therefore lost his head.

But

But yet, this generous Action was admired and honoured by those brutish Souls, who presently erected a magnificent Tomb, in memory of so honourable an Act; for although the *Tartars* sollicit the *Chineses* to revolt from their Prince, yet they honour and praise such as shew themselves constant to him; And this memorial of him, I owe as well to the singular friendship he was pleased to contract with me, as also to his eminent vertues, of which I my self & the whole Church of Christians in *China*, were both Spectators and Admirers, for the space of twenty years. He was Born in the Province of *Nanquin*, in the City *Changcho*, being called *Kiu Thomas*, a Name most worthy of eternal Memory.

During the saccage of these Provinces, news arrives from the Country of *Suchuen*, (which the notorious Brigand called *Changhienchungus*, famous for his strange cruelty and abhominable villanies, had so wasted,) that it begins again to be shaken with severall tempests of War; & though he seemed to be quite destroyed in the last Battails, yet from thence doth appear again new trouble and vexation to the Empire.

The Province of *Fokien* also begins to grone under the same miserable condition of War; for the Reverend Father *Peter Canevary* Native of *Genua*, writes out of the City *Changcheu*, which was besieged the 30. of *March* 1652. that *Quesingus*, having made a descent from his Ships into that Province, hath overrun the whole Country, taken some Cities and Towns, and carried on the War with great terrour to the Inhabitants. Insomuch as the *Tartarian* Commanders keepe themselves, and their Army in their Forts, and other places of strength, not daring to appear in the field to oppose him; but yet he said they expected new Forces and Succours from *Peking*; by which they doubt not, but quickly to subdue him.

This *Quesingus*, who now vexeth this Province of *Fokien*, is Son to the famous Pyrate *Iquon* or *Chinchilungo* whom the *Tartars* imprisoned by a slight, as I recounted to you in my former History.

And to let you know what I further heard from some passengers of *China*, who in the month of *January* 1653. were cast, in a Ship of *China*, upon the Coasts of an Island called *New Holland*; whither I had been brought before by their Barks, and Souldiers, as their Prisoner; These men related that a great Army of *Tartars* was arrived, to subdue *Quesingus*; whose Commander thought it fit to joyn Art to his Force; and therefore he commanded a handfull of men, to charge the *Chinese* Army, and presently by feigning flight, to retire to more advantageous and surer places. In the mean time, he had placed a number of Horse in a deep valley behind a Mountain, towards which Quarters the fugitive Troops retired. This flight gave courage to the *Chinese*, and the desire of victory, made them venture so far from the River *Chang*, where their ships lay at Anchor, as they found themselves environed by the *Tartars* Army. This desperate condition which excluded the *Chineses*, from returning to their Ships, caused a very great, and bloody slaughter, in which there perished above 80000 of the *Chineses* Army; whilst *Quesingus* a spectator of this sad accident from the Mast of his Ships, as they relate, was heard to say, that he would once more try his fortune against the *Tartars*; but if she proved again adverse unto him, he then would submit, and shave his Hair, like a *Tartar*.

Concerning the preſent ſtate of Chriſtian Religion, being at *Bruſſels* this laſt *Iune*, in the year 1654. I received letters from *China*; in which they gave me notice, that the Father Jeſuits, were very favourably treated by the *Tartars*; yea better than before; that they permit free exerciſe of the Chriſtian Catholick Religion, through all their Kingdoms, granting them leave not onely to enjoy their ancient Churches, but alſo liberally contributing to build new ones; ſo, by the goodneſſe of God, that which endamaged others, proveth gain to them. But I reſerve all particulars to a larger Relation in a greater Volume, which ſhall continue *Trigautius* his Hiſtory *of the miſſions diſpatched into China*, concluding with the year 1610. to theſe our preſent Times.

FINIS.

Books

Books printed for, and to be sold by *John Crook* at the sign of the Ship in St Pauls Church-yard.

ANnales Veteris Testamenti, à primâ Mundi Origine deducti; unâ cum rerum Asiaticarum & Ægyptiacarum Chronico, A temporis Historici principio usque ad Maccabaicarum initia producto: A Viro Reverendissimo, & Doctissimo *Jacobo Usserio* Archiepiscopo Armachano. *Folio.*

——Ejusdem Annalium Pars secunda, quæ ad annum Christi Octogesimum producitur, unà cum harmoniâ Evangeliorum ab exercitatissimo in Sacris literis Doctore *Johanne Richardsono* Episcopo Ardachensi conscripta. *Folio.*

——Ejusdem de Textûs Hebraici Veteris Testamenti Variantibus lectionibus ad *Ludovicum Cappellum* Epistola. *Quarto.*

——ejusdem de LXX interpretum versione syntagma, quo hebraici textus veritas contra LXX interpretum versionis assertores declaratur, vnà cum libro Estheræ &c, ad pristinam antiquitatem cum obeliscis, asteriscis & leniscis reducto. *Quarto.*

The Holy History : *containing excellent Observations on all the remarkable Passages and Histories of the Old Testament : With a Vindication of the Verity thereof from the aspersions of Atheists and Anti-Scripturians. Written Originally in French by the curious Pen of* Nicolas Caussin *S.I. And now Elegantly rendred into English out of the Seventh and last Edition by a Person of Honor.* *Quarto.*

The Perfect Ambassador; *Treating of the Antiquity, Priviledges, and Behaviour of Men belonging to that Function: By* Francis Thynne, *Esquire*. 12°.

Wisdome and Innocence; *or, Prudence and Simplicity, in the Examples of the Serpent and the Dove, propounded to our imitation: By* Thomas Vane *Doctor in Divinity and Physick.* 12°.

The Spirituall Nursery *decyphered, in a Sermon Preached at Mercers Chappel in London, Febr.* 9. 1650. *By* Thomas Baker *late Rector of* St Mary *the* More *in* Exon. *Quarto:*

Seven Sermons, Preached upon severall Occasions, by the most Reverend and Learned Father in God, William Laud, *late Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. heretofore Printed severally, but now gathered together, and re-printed.* 12°.

Loci Communes D. *Martini Lutheri* ex Scriptis ipsius Latinis, forma Gnomologica, & Aphoristica collecti & in quinque classes distributi, à

M.

M. *Theodoſio Fabritio* Eccleſiæ Gottingenſis Paſtore, *Quarto.*
Diſputatio Scolaſtica de Divina Providentia, adverſus Jeſuitas, Arminianos, Socinianos de Domino, Dei, &c, ſtudiis & induſtria *Samuelis Rhetorfortis* S. Theologiæ Profeſſoris in celebri & inclyta Academia Andreapolitana, *Quarto.*

A juſt vindication of the Church of England from the aſperſion of criminal ſchiſme, by Iohn Bramhal-Biſhop of Derry. *Octavo.*

——— *His defence of true liberty from anti-cedent and extrinſecall neceſſity, being an anſwer to a late book of Maſter* Thomas Hobbs *of Malmeſbury.* *Octavo.*

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By whom alſo all ſorts of Books brought from beyond the Seas, are to be ſold.

FINIS.

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